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THE NEIGHBORHOOD IN NATION-BUILDING

The Running Comment of Thirty Years at the South End House

BY

ROBERT A. WOODS

BOSTON AND NEW YORK
HOUGHTON MIFFLIN COMPANY
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PREFACE

THESE papers represent a series of landmarks in the gradual progress and expansion of the motive suggested by the title, as expressed in terms of one person's experience.

Nearly all of them have appeared in print before, but none has ever had other than a special and limited circulation. They were prepared amid various circumstances, and were sent forth under many different auspices. Each is related necessarily to its own point in time. Yet it is believed that they present the development of a consciousness more truthfully than a unified, deliberate retrospect could do.

For the more objective and comprehensive treatment of any phase of the work of the American settlements in general with relation to the subject, the reader may be referred to *The Settlement Horizon, A National Estimate*, by my associate, Mr. Albert J. Kennedy, and myself, published by the Russell Sage Foundation.

It is of the essence of the settlement that great profit comes to each from the residents' life in common. I have had peculiar satisfaction in recounting mine as I have gone over the lessons of what has been a happy united endeavor from the beginning, with steadily increasing promise of future growth.

20 UNION PARK, BOSTON

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The frontispiece portrait of the author is from a drawing in silver point by Philip L. Hale

THE NEIGHBORHOOD IN NATION-BUILDING

THE corporate unity of a people is artificial indeed; but art is long, and for that very reason a nation is easier unmade than made. — EDMUND BURKE, *summarized by* Sir Frederick Pollock.

THE NEIGHBORHOOD IN NATION-BUILDING

I

THE UNIVERSITY SETTLEMENT IDEA [1]

In the movement toward a better social life, there is a resemblance to the great changes at the end of the Middle Ages out of which came the nations of modern Europe. All Europe had for the time forgotten itself in the excitement and adventure of the Crusades. A new and strange world, with its unusual customs and activities, had come into general knowledge, and began to give men a fresh look at their old surroundings from an altered point of view. A great moral impulse, which united all classes of society, and men from distant places, threw aside the petty rule of feudal lords and made the minds of the people open to the thought of being held together in the larger national bond.

At present we are returning from the modern kind of adventure — from exploration, enterprise, invention. Applying to the general life of men the new conception of complex and intimate relationships which the advance of science has brought, and the idea of unity which is the note of the philosophy of the time, we are working toward vast changes in the life of modern society, not perhaps so visible and outward as those involved in the beginnings of nations, but so profound as to be likely to make over the inner and closer life of modern people.

[1] Address delivered at the Summer School of Ethics at Plymouth, 1892, where the first national gathering of settlement workers in this country took place. Published afterwards in the *Andover Review;* and, with addresses by other speakers at Plymouth, in the book *Philanthropy and Social Progress* (T. Y. Crowell and Co., New York, 1893).

The old bond of union was that of a political compact; the new bond of union is that of a social organism. It must have seemed difficult enough for those who had known only loyalty to a local lord to think of large numbers of duchies being held together by the single power of one great ruler; to think of an influence which should permeate into the different villages, and bring each into a common feeling with all the rest. The progress of republican government was held back at first, and is still greatly hindered, by the feeling that the people as rulers can wield only an intangible and ineffective force, as against the amorphous and unwieldy mass of the people as the subjects of government. But the idea of the nation, and of the self-governed nation, is now a commonplace; it is the idea of the social organism that we, in our turn, are struggling to make real to ourselves.

Civilization is overreaching itself. Certain of its tendencies develop rankly, before corrective tendencies have begun to operate. The result is congestion in some places, and atrophy in others. We must find ways of uniting the parts of the social body, under the bonds of civilization, so that its vital influence shall not linger sluggishly at certain centers, but shall run strongly out into every distant extremity. It is no longer the negative ends of safety and freedom that are most to be sought for; it is as to the living out of life among the people that we are concerned. What has been left undone by spent forces will be accomplished through the rising momentum of new forces. We find ourselves compelled, today, in the interest of civilization itself, to see that the influences of civilization penetrate into all the ramifications of society. The great city — the typical product of civilization — shows by multiple effects the danger of having people cut off from the better life of society, and breeding with phenomenal rapidity all the evils with which society is cursed. And the difficulty is by no means confined to the most

crowded quarters of cities. The poverty of the means of life is felt in other sections of cities besides those called the slums, among grades of people above those called the working people. Factory towns grow quickly, and mass together a large population with very little care that they shall live in a human way. And country villages, cut off by distance from elevating influences, as crowded city quarters are by their numbers, often reached by the bad effects of civilization far more quickly than by the good, offer a problem almost as serious as that of the cities themselves.

This situation, while it has always existed to a degree, is yet distinctly the product of the present time. Not until now could we fairly have appreciated it. Only now have we means adapted to meet it. Only modern civilization could have brought about the difficulty; only modern civilization could have understood it; only modern civilization can overcome it. The task is to make provision so that every part of society shall not only have a full supply for its fundamental human wants, but shall also be constantly refreshed from the higher sources of happier and nobler life. The great social evil is that the resources of society are so illy applied to the supplying of its needs. There must be a shifting of resources to meet needs. The forces of civilization must be mobilized, and made ready for every sort of transference, until every tenement block, every country hamlet, may be able each in its kind to summon for its use all that can push out the present boundaries of life so as to make life what it is designed to be. From the point of view of the individual, and at close range, this is philanthropy; from the point of view of society, this is only far-sighted social statesmanship. The isolated philanthropy of one generation becomes the organized social work of the next, and perhaps the public charge of the third. The moral bullion of one age becomes the economic, and even the political, legal tender of the succeeding

age. And these outward changes fully indicate that the new bond of union has been entered upon by society; and that in higher and higher ranges of life the forces of civilization are having a way made straight for them; so that more and more the best that life can mean shall become current in the whole experience of men, and shall add some distinctive touch to all their words and acts.

Now, apart from all general movements, political, economic, educational, and religious, toward a more comprehensive and more delicate organization of social life, there is a necessity for work to be done at many points where social evils are intrenched so that they cannot be met, even if they could be rightly estimated, by such agencies. The arm of the law, public and private charity, benevolent societies and institutions, churches, may fulfill ever so well their particular functions; but as yet, with a few notable exceptions, there are great tracts of life that are not entered, and are hardly known of, by these existing agencies. There must be some influence which shall enter in and take possession of these tracts of life in the name of what is true and pure. The lines along which this influence shall act are varied, intricate, and ill-defined. It must come close to the lives of the people themselves. It must be keen and sensitive to every sort of delicate, subtle feeling they have. It must, in short, be a personal influence. The person must act in a close, continued intimacy with those to whom he comes; that is, he must be a neighbor. He must join freely in the neighborhood life. He must have so varied an interest in human affairs that he shall be able to enter actively into sympathy on some side of life with every one of them. He must not establish a propaganda. He must not at first even have methods. He must not set about building up one more institution. He must not hurry. Above all, he must not be anxious about results. The children of this generation seek for a sign, but there shall be

no sign given them; he must be content that the generations of the future shall see his work in its true light. This person, therefore, must have the historic sense and the philosophic breadth of view. He must love men, but deeper than all he must love humanity. All these things mean that this person must have drunk at the fountains of knowledge. One can hardly imagine an uneducated person coming as a true prophet to that vast region of life which is not mapped out, divided into departments, called by names, and embraced within a cultus. In the sociological pantheon this worship is at the altar of the Unknown God. The worshiper must come not only with the zeal for service, but with that eager, inquiring mind through which he shall be led into varied and constantly developing knowledge and power.

If we are bold enough to hold that civilization must do its work for the whole of society, and for every class and every section of society, we must, I think, see that it is essential that such effort as has been indicated should be undertaken, — not that it is interesting and commendable that it should be undertaken, but that if civilization is in any large degree to do its work for humanity, such effort is essential. It is for this reason one dares to believe that the university settlements, small in number and slight in results as yet, are destined to fill an important part among the many forces which are making for social progress. They come near to fulfilling the conditions that have been laid down. Their workers, like the people of the neighborhood, not only work there, but live there. As college men and women, they have learned to a degree how to live the good and beautiful life. As cultured persons, they believe in the saving quality of every sort of influence which tends to make men and women true to the human pattern. They also take a scientific as well as a philanthropic interest in learning accurately and comprehensively just what the state of life is in their neigh-

borhood. They are able to compare this kind of life with others, and to see how each kind may be bettered by taking up elements from outside itself. By their broader knowledge and sympathies, they are able to originate plans for bringing unused resources of society to meet its unfilled needs, and are able to put into fuller operation agencies that are already in one way or another attempting to restore the balance.

A university, and a college in its measure, ought to be the special exponent of advancing civilization. It stands not only for a knowledge of the whole world as it is, but for the variety of human interests and hopes. The troubles of society ought to be most keenly felt there. That great masses of men and women are cut off from the better life of society, unknown and uncared for, is, rightly considered, a direct imputation of shame upon the university. It means that the cause of the university is in danger. It means, also, that the university is falling short of its full use. The university man or woman — that is, the truly cultured man or woman — is the one who ought to be able to go everywhere through the world, filled with childlike wonder, but never at the last capable of being surprised. But, alas! how we find ourselves, after our academical, and even after our professional courses, lost not merely in a vast body of new facts — that was to be expected — but lost in a maze of conflicting principles. There are more things in life than are dreamed of in our history, our political economy, or even in our philosophy. The weak idealism with which most graduates go into their life-work makes it inevitable that they should be racked and torn before they have rightly estimated the forces of evil, which must sometimes, in the narrower view of things, seem to be the only forces there are. Culture has progressed by gradually imaging in itself all that goes to make up the world's life. But here are vast sections of mankind, whose

life, for all that is distinctive of it, is practically an undiscovered country to those who most clearly stand for culture. How provincial our culture is. To how great a degree ignorant, to how great a degree selfish. How it generalizes about men — the proper study of mankind is man — and calls the result knowledge of them. How it satisfies itself with a distant echo of feeling for them. How often it develops effeminacy, instead of the strong, chastened refinement of the citizen of the world.

The university settlements, then, as the parent movement of university extension, stand for a double sense of urgency on the part of the universities — the necessity of giving what they have in abundance, and the necessity of gaining what they need in order to be true to themselves. There is a sort of sentimental cant which is indulged in by those who have but slightly touched the problem of the settlements, which represents the university men and women as youthful martyrs bringing all that is illuminating into places of absolute darkness. "Elevation by contact" is a phrase which these like to use. There is also a cant of those who have seen somewhat more of settlement work which represents the residents as combining together in a sort of club for the sake of a period of romantic existence which they in a measure justify by learning much out of the experience of their poorer neighbors. Let us clear our minds of cant. Let us, to begin with, simply remember that the university and the closely populated city quarter each need the other; and from that pass on to consider how the representatives of each can learn and do learn mutual helpfulness. But in judging the work of the settlements one does not, I think, get the right point of view who looks at them apart from the great social changes which they in their measure represent. Looked at in the true perspective, one sees that the simple fact of a group of educated men or women taking up their residence

in a poor part of a city is something of significance and value. The phrase "elevation by contact," ill-used as it has been, contains a truth in it. Let us not, in the endeavor to escape being patronizing, make the mistake of standing so erect as to lose our balance backward. The university settlement comes into the district from without. It is, if you please, imposed upon the district. The residents come first of all to help, conscious of bringing with them resources that will be positive contributions to the life of the district. They should have no fond hope of galvanizing a higher existence into the people, making it seem, by a sort of *deus ex machina* illusion, as if the people had accomplished the result of themselves. They should continue to bring in from without the district a variety of helpful influences. They should abhor patronage as they abhor the curse; but they will soon learn that their poorer neighbors detect and despise false humility just as readily. The true attitude for every social worker is that of a member of a noble family, in which there is the widest inequality, but equality and inequality are never thought of, and greater knowledge and strength mean only greater love and service.

It is, of course, perfectly true that, the critical test of the settlements will be whether they can justify themselves as establishments where men and women under organized direction shall become trained to do continuous, painstaking work of investigation and action, so that each settlement shall be accomplishing the improvement of its own neighborhood, and shall, from time to time, send out skilled workers to continue similar efforts in other surroundings. This test, under a right understanding of what a university settlement is in its motive and functions, every supporter of the settlements will heartily welcome. The only caution that need now be made is that in the initial stages of the movement any strictures made upon it, in comparison with the work

of established institutions or organizations following a few easily defined lines and acting through specialists of long experience, must be considered as resulting from a false estimate of what settlement work is in idea, and of what, under its limitations, it must for some years yet be in fact. For the present, the work must be done by amateurs, for there are no professionals. It must not now and it may never be too closely organized, because it consists so largely of turning to social account delicate kinds of influence which cannot be borne through the channels of organization. And too much regularity and constancy must not yet be expected when those who enter this work have so largely to live upon locusts and wild honey, and to go clad in camel's hair.

The prime requisite in the minds of educated men in undertaking any task is to know to a greater or less degree the situation in which they are to work and the material which they are to work upon. The close, scientific study of the social conditions in the neighborhood about a settlement is indispensable to its success. Of course, careful social analysis of a neighborhood demands the observation of months and years; but the task should be undertaken from the very beginning. The movement of the settlements will be false to its promise, it will cut off its own future, if it do not know for itself, and tell thinking people, and by its absolute statement of facts compel thinking people to hear, how the other half lives. Now this searching investigation proceeds only by long and loving acquaintance. Science and sympathy must unite if we are to have any living knowledge of the poor. This knowledge the university settlements offer good promise of giving — after seeing the lives of the people with that quickened vision which comes from a glowing heart, representing them again with the faithfulness of the truth-loving mind. Such work will, if it is seriously and systematically followed, give to the residents a keen sense of what the needs of the

people are, in their just proportion and relation, and will develop in them a selective instinct for finding what may best be done to fill their needs, and it will even make the situation stand out before their minds until it shall induce in them the thought of newer and better forms of helpfulness.

After the study of the social statics of the neighborhood comes the study of its social dynamics. What the people are accomplishing for themselves both in their individual and home life, and in local organizations for whatever purpose, is a matter of absolute importance to a settlement before launching into its more constructive activity. Such effort on the part of the people will indicate more truly than anything else just where the greatest ground for hope is. The presumption is always against having a settlement introduce any newly devised scheme. It is always in favor of falling in with the current of what is already advancing in the neighborhood. In an enterprise of the people's own, you find them under a kind of momentum which can never be so well artificially aroused. Every original aspiration for better things becomes to the resident of a true spirit something to be known and understood, and then fostered with tender care. Every beginning of independent organization has to him the interest that a rare specimen has to a naturalist. And so gradually by the united efforts of the residents, the settlement, as a whole, comes to be in sympathetic touch with the homes of its neighbors, and with all combined movements among them toward trade organization, coöperation, or thrift, or toward education and recreation. And a settlement is false to its purpose if it do not take knowledge also of the organized forces of sin that are at work in its vicinity. Sometimes these are not to a great degree developed out of the life of the neighborhood as such, but are foisted upon it by persons of other and more well-to-do neighborhoods. But even in such a case, the neighborhood

in question by no means escapes the contagion of evil. The curse of the poor is their poverty; often the sacred hearthstone of honest poverty must be within sound of the revelry and debauchery of those to whom society is pleased to give its greater rewards. University settlements must be courageous enough and scientific enough to face the grim, inhuman evils that flaunt themselves in what are called the less respectable sections of cities, the horror of prostitution, the horror of drunkenness, and all their accompaniments and consequences. The time has come when the educated man and the educated woman must no longer merely shudder and turn away from the dark depths of life. The educated person cares little for the words and the ways of the sensationalist and the purveyor of artificial reforms. But he respects just as little that form of refined selfishness which says, "These things always have been and always will be; who touches them touches pitch."

A settlement must be intimately acquainted with all other agencies which have come from without the neighborhood, with the intention of working for its improvement in some way or other. From the broadest possible view of the means of social progress the residents ought to learn to estimate how far these agencies do really upbuild the people. Young graduates entering into social work are in especial danger of being too narrowly critical of the efforts of sagacious people who have had a different sort of training for life than they. Their sense of proportion here often fails them. It is of great importance to the whole movement of the settlements that other kinds of social workers shall not be given cause to think of the residents as a group of exquisites, who find value only in certain highly refined methods, and condemn the rest because of flaws they may find. Often one's judgment as to the value of certain kinds of work is greatly modified by fuller knowledge of the situation in which the

workers find themselves. It is therefore the business of a settlement to give sympathetic study to forms of work which are conducted with a lack of taste and discernment, and even to those which are undertaken from what may seem to be false motives. They must have the sense which will enable them to see the value of the spirit of service under widely various forms. The *a priori* argument against any plan is almost worthless to the social investigator. What contribution does it make in its results to the living of life in this neighborhood, or in what way does it hinder the living of life in this neighborhood, are the questions for the men or women of a settlement.

And so it ought to be a matter of deep interest to each resident to become thoroughly conversant with the neighborhood existence. He must have his conversation, his citizenship, there. From before the establishment of the settlement through all its career, this process of acquaintance must continue. Who can say what vast results may come when a succession of educated men and women return to their more regular life in the home, in the business house, in the school and college, in the church, knowing from a living experience, through the daily use of all the senses, just what the life of the working classes, and the classes below them, actually is?

It is very important, for the first at least, that the settlements should be located with a view to the most favorable opportunity for studying what is distinctive of the great metropolitan poor quarters. The first settlements ought to be located where they can be within range of the variety of social problems which a city offers. There seems to be a current impression that a settlement ought to be placed in the very midst of the most degraded and hopeless classes, and, when settlements are not so situated, it is not an uncommon experience for some who have cherished mistaken sentiment with regard to settlement work almost to disparage the pur-

pose of those at work, as if they were seeking the crown without the cross. But the object of a settlement is distinctly to face the whole problem of the less favored classes, and all the different phases of it. The settlement, therefore, is best located where it can easily look every way — toward the very poor, toward the regularly employed working people, and toward the criminal and vicious elements which are found in spots and streaks in all degrees of outward respectability. This is very important if the active work of the settlement for the improvement of the people is to have the value of a comprehensive experiment. A settlement located in the midst of a slum could deal with the people of the slum, but only as it made over the slum by new buildings, could it secure the interest of the better grades of working people. The self-respecting poor are often as jealous of their social standing as a duchess of her place in the order of precedence.

It is also an advantage for a settlement to be situated so as to be within easy reach of the centers where the life of the city converges. In many of our American cities there are already, or soon will be, great metropolitan poor districts. In the midst of these, rather than in distant and sequestered working-class quarters, the settlement ought to be placed. Often there are other parts of the city that seem to be more needy, but they present a narrower range of problems, and are often so far away as to be practically separate villages or towns by themselves. When the great forces of a city's common life are steadily developing a distinctively metropolitan poor district, even though the process has not advanced very far, there, both for the sake of the investigation and of the active work of social reform, is where the university settlement ought to be — if possible just out of hearing of the din and roar of traffic, and just out of sight of the glare of the evening promenade.

Of course, after the most casual preliminary investigation,

the question begins at once to rise, What shall we do? And though there is danger in settlement work of rushing too quickly into schemes for the improvement of the neighborhood, yet it is for the improvement of the neighborhood, above everything else, that the settlement has come. And the first thing to do is to strengthen the things which remain. Every kind of center of social life in the neighborhood should become the object of the wisest care that the settlement can give. First of all, the settlement should begin by being as nearly as possible a home. It is a disadvantage, I think, to have, from the first, easy public access to the house. The residents should be neighbors, and should become acquainted in the same natural way by which neighbors come to know one another in the simpler circles of society; that is, they must neither intrude, after the fashion of the census-taker, nor must they hold coldly aloof until all the forms of introduction have been gone through. The first and constant effort of the settlement should be to have its men or its women come into relations of friendliness and intimacy with the people in their homes. The bringing out of the possibilities of home life among the working people is one of the most valuable results that a group of educated men or women could aim at; and, of course, the women residents can accomplish far more in this direction than the men. It is a good plan to have one resident especially to visit in each of certain groups of houses, such as can conveniently be classified; and then, without hurry, or the use of mechanical means, let him become thoroughly acquainted with the people living there, with the purpose of bringing the resources of the settlement to bear upon that quarter just as fully as the circumstances, when they become known, will allow. As time goes on, the homes of the neighborhood will be better in their sanitary condition, in their food, in their reading, in their enjoyments, in their morals, and in their religious life, through direction and

assistance from the settlement. This department of the work is capable of being systematically laid out and all its needs provided for; and this kind of organization might go on as rapidly as the residents could complete roughly the social analysis of the streets in which they undertake to visit.

Similar careful treatment must be given the local organizations. These will very rarely run on neighborhood lines, but the residents, in so far as they connect themselves with the organizations, ought to do so simply upon their claims as dwellers in the vicinity. It is even important that the residents should remain in the background so far as official position in such societies is concerned. In this way they can have a better influence, as they will remain outside of all the factional quarrels that rise out of the thirst for prominence. The settlement ought to be represented, so far as possible, in every organization which has any visible influence in the local community, whether the object be one of vital interest or not — the development of independent social forms is so important. As to the secret orders which are so common everywhere, it is a question whether it is worth while to take up at all with them. It certainly would not be well at the beginning to expend force in that way. But whatever trade unions, workingmen's clubs, temperance societies, and even political clubs there are, ought to receive the sympathy, and so far as is possible without compromise, the active support of the settlement. It is particularly important that the leaders of these organizations, and other influential persons of the neighborhood, should be made friends of, unless they are unworthy of friendship. It is perhaps needless to say that in all these relations the residents must be frank to recognize the ability and worth of the people whom they meet, acting naturally, whether as learners or teachers.

A work only second in importance to the encouraging of

the inhabitants of the neighborhood in what they are doing for themselves is that of coöperating with all the good forces already active in the neighborhood which are not original developments of its own immediate life. In these would be included all the officers of the law, the teachers in the schools, the agents of charitable societies, and the clergymen in charge of the churches. In the case of aldermen and police officials, of course, the character of the men differs very widely. The policy of the settlement ought to be, first, to make every possible effort to establish friendly relations with these men, and through such relations to secure a knowledge of the situation and increased effort for its improvement; but if these means fail, then the residents must use more forcible methods. There are many ways in which friendly acquaintance with the police can be of great use to a settlement, especially if the residents are bound to know the whole state of their neighborhood. Moreover, there are few persons in the community more deserving of the sympathy and support of good people than an honest policeman located in a bad city quarter. He has to stem the tide of the city's moral defilement as no other person is called upon to do; and he is almost wholly deprived of the uplift, which nearly every social worker now feels, that comes from knowing of a great body of true men and women who are glad of the work he is doing. Another class of persons who make a valuable moral contribution to society and receive very little moral return at the hands of society is the school teachers. The residents of a settlement can be of great use both in confirming them in what they already do well, and in assisting them to have better purposes and methods. The schools can be made in many ways better factors in the social development of the children than they now are, by the introduction of the many new methods of instruction, by the gradual addition of manual training to the curriculum, and

by a larger use of school buildings for combined instruction and recreation.

The study and practice of scientific charity is a most important line of effort for a settlement to undertake. Residents should join the local committees of such charities as are already organized; and while it is doubtful whether a settlement should become identified with any charity to the extent of having its local headquarters in the settlement house, yet certain members of the group ought to give themselves especially to becoming thoroughly acquainted with the state of the dependent and casual classes and to the skillful administration of relief. All organizations that exist in the city for the care of children, for assisting in special ways the worthy but unfortunate poor, for improving the dwellings of the people, and for increasing facilities for public recreation, should receive regular support, for the sake of having their benefits brought more fully into the neighborhood.

What shall be done with regard to coöperating with the religious forces of the neighborhood? On this question a variety of attitudes are taken. Some say there is so much jealousy and partisanship connected with religion that a settlement attempting to work on broad neighborhood lines must be absolutely neutral on matters of religion. Some others, admitting the difficulty, still say that they will not remove from their programme what they consider to be of so vital importance, but will bring in that form of religion which they think is the best, with the hope of gaining for it the support of a part of those who are helped by the other work of the settlement. I believe there are very important reasons that both of these kinds of settlements should exist. There are certainly many city neighborhoods where an avowed religious connection would very much hamper the work of the settlement. There are also many men in these

days, and some women, who can work only with a non-religious settlement. On the other hand, there are many who can work far better under a definite religious standard. And there are many places where a definite religious allegiance is a help rather than a hindrance — as in the case of the Oxford House urging the claims of the Church of England in Bethnal Green, and the Scotch settlements under strong Presbyterian auspices in Edinburgh and Glasgow. There is a third attitude which a settlement may take, and I think it is the most just of all. This position is, that while a university settlement, no more than a university itself, should be committed to a theological and ecclesiastical propaganda, yet both must, if they are to have a mission to the whole of men's higher life, be ready to meet men on the religious side of their nature. From this point of view, a settlement ought to undertake its work feeling the stirring of the religious motive. It ought to be prepared to bring to the people the influences of a broad and free religious enthusiasm, which shall show the insignificance of differences compared with the unity of spirit in which every man is in some sense religious. So that while I am free to admit very great practical difficulties, I cannot feel that university settlements are loyal to their name if they suppress the influence of the deep and broad religion which is to so large degree current among the college men and women of to-day — too full of sympathy and hope to stay with scholastic dialectic, too sure that there is but one religion to be unduly concerned as to the varying forms it takes. From this point of view it is an essential part of the residents' social work in the neighborhood to enter into friendly coöperation with the religious work that is being done there, especially with the hope of bringing in a greater and greater element of that religion which is pure and undefiled.

The part of the work of a university settlement which to the

popular mind mainly gives it its character is really least distinctive of it. The establishment of new centers of social activity, the development of new forms of institutional effort, might possibly not demand residence in the neighborhood. But the work amongst the homes and organizations of the people would be well-nigh impossible to an outsider. Still, residents are at a considerable advantage for the introduction of a new programme of means for social improvement, especially if the foundation has been strongly laid by making the settlement first of all a hospitable home, and by having the residents become welcome guests in the homes of the people. But it cannot be too forcibly stated that for a settlement at once to make an institution of itself is to lose nearly all of the finer influence which it is the essence of a settlement to have. The motto of the university settlement movement is in the words of Mr. Barnett to the little group of pioneers at Oxford: "Vain will be music, art, higher education, or even the gospel, unless they come clothed in the life of brother men." So much being said, the possibilities in the way of the enlargement and enrichment of life, such as may, in the course of years and with the support of men and money, be taken up by a settlement, are so numerous and varied that one can only touch upon them in general outline here. As far as possible, these lines of effort must be undertaken in the name of the neighborhood, putting much responsibility upon the people themselves for whatever may be attempted. The principle of self-help must be imparted to them at every turn. Only remember that the people must be helped to help themselves.

One of the first and most obvious needs of the life of every poor neighborhood is healthful recreation. The dullness and dreariness of its life is only the reverse side of the brutality in it. Whatever is done among the children and youth will center in boys' and girls' clubs, the success of which will depend

almost wholly upon the capacity of the persons who have charge of them. There are no proved and tried methods for carrying on a boys' club. The girls' club is an easier matter. But the person to lead a boys' club is born, not made. In dealing with boys it is almost necessary to have a gymnasium and drill hall where they can run off their surplus spirits and be taught physical and moral manhood at the same time. After that, the hope of boys' clubs lies in manual training. It is also practically settled that the big club of boys, managed by one or two men as with long poles, can never accomplish what needs being done. There are also obvious difficulties about putting into motion all the machinery of a club to meet nightly for ten or fifteen boys. There is a compromise plan of having a large club with its nightly meeting hall, which shall be divided into congenial groups, each group to be under the special charge of some friend, who shall hold group meetings, and shall endeavor to keep up a close acquaintance with the boys of the group. The problem of arranging meetings for the women is again much simpler than that of providing wholesome recreation for the men. In England, where the idea of a workingmen's club, either independent or patronized, is so well understood, the problem is much simpler than in America. Our workingmen have hardly yet dreamed of organization for the sake of general recreation and self-improvement; nor has any one else gone far toward suggesting such a thing to them. But whatever is done in these ways, the settlement should be a center for social gatherings which shall from time to time include the different members of each family, bringing men and women, boys and girls, together, that they may learn of the grace and sweetness of life.

On the educational side, a settlement may begin with some of the simplest and most popular forms of study, and from that even aspire to establish a workingmen's university; and as for

lectures and concerts and art exhibitions, it may gradually build up a People's Palace. On the industrial side, it can introduce experiments in the way of coöperative stores, coöperative industries, building and loan associations, benefit and insurance organizations; it will bring workingmen and university men together, in order that they may learn from each other about social questions; and it may, as at Toynbee Hall they have several times successfully done, arrange conferences where capitalist, workingman, and scholar may meet and review the situation from their different points of view. On the ethical side it will try to bring to the people the influence of the lives and teachings of the world's great moral heroes. On the religious side — if it have an acknowledged religious side to its work — it will, in all wisdom, provide opportunities for those who will, to advance in the better life by refreshing the spirit of love from the springs of faith and hope.

Thus far I have referred only to the duty of a university settlement to its own neighborhood. But it has other duties, — to the general section of the city in which it is placed, and to the city as a whole; to the men or women who are its residents and associated workers; to the body of its supporters. And it owes it to society at large to secure the spread of the principles for which it stands. For the general district, the settlement can mass its forces of residents and sympathetic neighbors, and enter into the movement for good citizenship, by urging the support of worthy candidates for municipal offices, by promoting measures for reform and improvement, and in general by organizing for action as to public matters that closely affect the life of the people. The large social interests of the whole district must be felt by the residents only less keenly than they feel the claims of their own immediate neighborhood, and any efforts which promise to be of benefit to the district should find the outspoken sup-

port of the settlement. There will be some parts of the settlement's regular work in which it will be manifestly impossible and undesirable to find a sufficient constituency in a single neighborhood, so that to a degree there will be a personal concern felt at the settlement for many families and homes outside of the immediate neighborhood. In this way there will even be in the relation of the settlement to the broad district not a little of that warmth of touch which it finds in its relation to its nearer neighbors.

A university settlement ought to be a stronghold of that rising municipal loyalty which is in some respects as noble as patriotism among the civic virtues. The method and trend of city government ought to be watched until it is thoroughly known, and then patient and constant efforts made to improve the type of officials, and the methods of legislation and administration. Toynbee Hall has its representative on the London County Council, and two representatives on the London School Board; and every settlement ought to strive to follow this example. There are many cities now which are almost persuaded to make a beginning upon such a splendid programme of social politics as London has undertaken; and the settlements, by coming in with fresh knowledge of the subject, and without fear of being called socialist, may have a considerable share in the great results that are sure to come.

But a settlement must represent a much larger notion of a city than that of the mere political aggregation. The city is one of the great nerve tracts of the social organism. It is glowing everywhere with a sustained community life. It is therefore the part of a settlement to recognize and assist every united movement of the citizens which in any direction seems likely to make broader and truer the common life of the citizens; feeling sure that many of the lines of effort which are now thought to be philanthropists' dreams will, in due time, be seen to be public necessities.

The residents of a settlement ought to be men or women of some kind of liberal training. The association of the settlements with academical loyalties is meant to be inclusive, but not exclusive — I have used the term "university settlement" as being the original and generic one, hoping that it might embrace all the similar forms of effort which have taken their suggestion from the first university settlements. The objection made to the term on the ground of patronage is, I think, not well founded. The colleges owe it to themselves to remove the popular impression that they are places where well-dressed and haughty young persons live and enjoy themselves for four years. In any case, the specific name given to the settlement may be without any semblance of patronage. The residents should live without any mark of asceticism about them — especially not if such things have to be artificially taken on. The life of simplicity and frugality which includes the usual necessities of civilized existence will be most easily understood by the people who come to the house. Parts of the house which are intended for hospitable use may well have kinds of adornment which the residents might consider too costly for their own private satisfaction, wherever they might be living.

As to the direction of the residents, there ought to be just enough authority in the head worker to make sure that unity and continuity are fairly kept up in the work of the settlement. It ought to be possible at any time to turn the whole force of the settlement down a single channel. But in dealing with the individual workers, I consider that it is essential to the plan of having educated persons doing intimate personal work, that the directions of the head worker should wholly take the form of suggestions, except in some rare instances, when his command or veto should be subject to appeal to the body of residents or to the managing council. It is not well even that the personality of one person should over-

shadow the rest, unless that person have much greater experience than they. The general lines of action being assigned according to the inclinations of the residents, they ought to be expected to develop a great share of the invention and originality which their own field of effort demands. The head worker ought to know everything that is being done by all the residents, and ought to be ready to offer suggestions and cautions whenever they seem to be needed. His suggestions may be especially frequent and pointed if he find any residents who are inclined to turn settlement work into a pastime. But, on the whole, it is indispensable to the scheme that every resident from the beginning should feel a possessive, creative interest in his own work; that he should feel not merely the cheerful glow of action, but that he should feel that lofty joy which the artist feels. Anything that hinders the entrance of such fine influence into the doing of the work will prevent it from being imparted as a result of the work. The life and soul of settlement work is in the charm and magic which lingers about persons, with fetters off, and held only by a noble enthusiasm.

There should be restrictions upon applicants for residence both as to their fitness for social work and their ability to work in harmony with the residents. So far as possible, residents should give their whole working time. In order to make sure of this, each settlement ought to be so financed that scholarships should be provided for residents, and it is a great advantage if they can pursue their study and work under some academical connection. In such ways, the casual, dilettante element can gradually be removed out of settlement work, without in the least removing its appeal to the imagination. The head worker should be on an allowance sufficient to justify his giving a term of years to settlement work. It is, of course, well and admirable for those who have means to live at the settlements at their own charges,

but that is at best an exceptional and temporary arrangement, in this country at least.

The settlements will have two classes of supporters: those at the institutions of learning, and those living in and about the city where the settlement is located. These supporters should be organized into a body giving not only financial support but moral support. Those who have the true settlement spirit do not come as envoys, but as forerunners. The colleges ought to be often visited. Visitors ought to come often from the colleges. The reports of the work and the results of investigation ought to be regularly published. The local constituency ought to be reached through a sort of extension bureau, which shall send out lecturers, organize reading clubs, and encourage and assist persons to begin active social work in their own neighborhoods. The settlement ought to be to them a center of inspiration and instruction, not as to the delegating of their duty, but as to doing it themselves. Thus also a body of associate workers will be in training, who will come regularly to the settlement to take some part in its work, so as to relieve the residents of a large share of the more formal work, and leave them free for investigation, personal intercourse, and original experiment.

So much for the diagnosis; what of the prognosis? What can the settlements accomplish, what future development is the idea likely to have, and what is it worth to society as a whole? University settlements are capable of bringing to the depressed sections of society its healing and saving influences, for the lack of which those sections are to so large an extent as good as dead. The settlements are able to take neighborhoods in cities and by patience bring back to them much of the healthy village life, so that the people shall again know and care for each other. They will impart a softer touch to what social powers now act there; and they will

bring streams from the higher sources of civilization to refresh and arouse the people so that they shall no more go back to the narrowness and gloom, and perhaps the brutality, of their old existence.

The expansion of the settlement method will come partly by its being taken up in greater or less degree by churches and charitable institutions and societies; but its greatest expansion will be through the increase of the settlements themselves. These results will come as the body of trained settlement workers gradually enlarges. There ought to be, and not impossibly will be, a university settlement in each considerable neighborhood of every great city, and I do not make too bold when I say that there ought to be two in each neighborhood, one of men, and one of women. Then each neighborhood, made keen and vital with the social energy that has been stirred within it, would awake to the electric touch coming from every other neighborhood charged with the influences of social life, and would eagerly respond to each effort to ennoble the life of the city, until we should have whole cities tending to become what communities of men and women should be, places where the things that are pure and lovely and of good report shall become, by toil and suffering, the common inheritance, whose homes shall never be ignorant of what peace and love are; where even the streets should begin to tempt and fascinate boys and girls into the ways of righteousness, instead of luring them into the haunts of sin.

As a definite contribution to the agencies of social progress, the settlements stand for the fact that there is no short and easy road to a better society, and that for every social gain there must be some corresponding expenditure of personal effort. They also show not only that social work demands a far greater number and variety of workers than has before been understood to be necessary, but that it demands the best type of men and women acting under the highest motives

they can feel. Thus the settlement movement strikes at the root of the tree. Not contrivances, but persons, must save society. And wheresoever society at all needs saving, there persons must go in ample number and of the best trained ability. The resources of society are largely in persons. The needs of society are in persons. There must be overturnings and overturnings, till everywhere the resourceful shall be filling the wants of the needy.

The university settlements are a message of life and hope to that great body of men and women in these days who are, in some sense, stifled under the gifts of society become impediments through disuse. The settlements offer, as has never before been offered, an opportunity for the employment of every sort of faculty and attainment, so that every kind of person may begin to have to some degree the joy and enlargement of life that comes from a consciousness of power to make other life more true to itself. How the whole of human existence becomes ennobled, when men and women begin to understand that everything they know and everything they are is an image to them of what may be modeled in the yielding clay of the lives of others.

And this suggests how much the movement of the settlements may mean in the future to the colleges and universities, by showing them that everything which makes life better at the favored centers will add to life at the far-out extremities; and that all that makes up civilization will be quickened at its source by giving it the broad amplitude of humanity. As a result of such influences, now rising so fast, we shall find education taking anew the larger measure of the world, and developing in itself an impulse which will make its votaries no longer merely priests at the altar, but apostles to the world of men. And so we may expect to see the young men and young women of the future come out from our colleges and universities trained in a social sense, corresponding

to the growing intenseness of social relations, having perhaps not more varied powers and attainments than the graduates of the present, but whatever sort of gift they possess, having with it a zeal for ennobling it and themselves by using the gift in the service of men that do not have it. The university settlement will then become an organic part of the university, one of its professional schools perhaps,[1] where every sort of latent or narrowly applied power which the university develops shall be strongly called out and sent along lines where it shall begin to be applied to its appropriate function of ministering to the common life of society.

The university settlements stand for a sublime faith in everything that goes to make up the good and beautiful life. I wonder if since the Renaissance there has been any such assertion of the life-giving quality of culture as our simple settlements stand for — pledged to a belief in its message and mission to all sorts and conditions of men, gradually demonstrating that the things which go to make up culture are, in the broadest and deepest sense, humanities.

It may seem to some in a high degree over-confident to trace out of this small movement of the settlements an influ-

[1] The necessity of dealing with the life of the masses of the people, which makes hospital and dispensary work so important to the medical student, is now being felt in a marked degree at the theological seminaries. For several reasons the work of a settlement of theological students must be nearly identical with that of a general university settlement; the only difference being that the religious motive will always be kept prominent, and methods of religious work will receive more particular attention on the part of the residents. But the same comprehensive programme must be followed. The belief in the helpful influence of every good thing must still be held. Nearly as great a variety of workers can be, and ought to be, called into service. The vast majority of the people in the depressed sections of cities who are inaccessible to direct religious effort are as distinctly a part of the constituency of one sort of settlement as of the other; and they must be appealed to upon such sides of their better nature as are sensitive to appeals. Every settlement must go patiently to work with the hope of developing means for saving the whole of its neighborhood; for making all the people who dwell in the neighborhood regenerated in every part of their lives.

ence toward so great results. There is one thing that university settlements have contributed to the life of the present which cannot be gainsaid. They have made work among the poor interesting, which before seemed dull and wearisome. They have shown opportunities for intelligent men and women in such work that were unknown before. They have cast about social service the glamour of the moral picturesque. Whenever such an accomplishment is made, through a great genius or under some common inspiration of a group of men, the hand on the dial of human progress perceptibly moves forward. For the task of the future is to learn to see in human life the attraction which we now are able to see in nature; and to work out for humanity the beauty and the glory which the world about us prefigures and predicts. And so we shall go further than to see the spirit of God brooding on the face of the waters, to feel that the hills are filled with his legions, to find every bush a burning bush and every rock an altar; for we dare to hope for the time when man shall begin everywhere to visit man, his brother, and every visitor shall be a wrestling angel, joining with his brother in loving emulation of what is strong and true, making him to know the weakness of the lower life, showing in himself, all unconsciously, a vision of the better life, giving the man a new name to express the promise of the future, and leaving him with a heavenly benediction.

II

UNIVERSITY SETTLEMENTS AS LABORATORIES IN SOCIAL SCIENCE[1]

A UNIVERSITY settlement collects a group of men or women of trained minds and elevated moral sense, who reside together in one of the poorer and more crowded sections of a city or town for the sake, in the first place, of observing carefully from day to day the varied and shifting phases of the life of the people, particularly of those who live and work immediately around them; and in the second place, of bringing to bear at every different point of human need, particularly so far as the immediate district is concerned, such of the resources of society as are necessary to supply those needs.

A university settlement, in its deepest meaning, is not a charitable or philanthropic establishment. It is an outpost where certain persons from separated sections of society, who by education or by experience become freed from the prejudices of their class, may meet and confer with one another for the sake of having each side know more about the events and the motives of life of the other side; so that each may grow by admiring and seeking the better qualities that exist in the other; so that the particular virtues developed under either set of conditions may pass over and exist where the conditions are less favorable, until these virtues through their inherent strength and value shall bring about such changes in society as will make their exercise and growth come, not indeed without effort and even struggle, but still

[1] Address delivered at the International Congress of Charities, Correction and Philanthropy, in connection with the World's Fair, Chicago, 1893.

naturally and almost inevitably. This, I say, is what the university settlement stands for in its broader principles, and I touch upon these principles at the beginning, because the usefulness of university settlements as laboratories in social science is considerably affected by this view of their nature and attitude.

Social science is not, like geology or astronomy, a science which has its results only in the progress which comes from conforming exactly to data which will be practically the same whether we conform or not; social science includes within its data the constructive and reconstructive energy of the conscious mind. It is the science of social nutrition and hygiene, of social pathology and therapeutics.

The range of inquiry under it includes the investigation of normal statical conditions, of abnormal statical conditions, and of the observed effects of all processes which under reasonable hypothesis may work upon both sorts of statical conditions, to produce change in them along the lines of the normal dynamic development of society. Thus the field is the world; and the particular territory for study and experiment by the university settlement includes the whole reach and depth of human life in that little world which lies within the narrow limits of the neighborhood of which the residents are part. The representatives of the more favored classes come to the less favored; and therefore, for the present at least, their newer knowledge of the life of the educated and well-to-do members of the community is got by observing the effect of it upon the life of the poor and by observing from the new point of view the effect of the life of the poor upon the more favored. For the rest, they find themselves learning daily the truth about the life of the more favored through the large number of new data for comparison supplied by the life of the less favored.

I do not wish, however, to differentiate the work of the

university settlement too strongly from other forms of social work. Its domain for practical investigation and action lies very largely in the life of the poorer classes, and to justify its existence the settlement movement must in due time present some substantial results in the way of understanding and of bettering the conditions of life as regards poverty and labor. It is as actual residents of a neighborhood which presents these problems most strongly that settlement workers are able to bring to the more favored classes in the community a better knowledge and a better feeling with regard to social evils. As residents of such a neighborhood, also, they go naturally into the study of those larger phases of social conditions which can be appreciated only by taking the range of a city as a whole. This includes all that is connected with the government of the city, with the management of business enterprises conducted by the municipality, and the general direction of the public school system. Residents will also be led into sufficient study of neighborhoods similar to their own to enable them to make wise comparison between other neighborhoods and their own. The practiced eye will begin to discern marked distinctions both in the outward environment and the inner life of neighborhoods. In some cities different neighborhoods are as unlike as different nations and as even different races are. In order to know his own neighborhood well, the settlement worker must know other neighborhoods; just as to appreciate the workings of some of the greater forces that run into the life of his neighborhood, he must be familiar with the larger phases of the social situation throughout the city and with those larger social forces which rise out of the life of the city as a whole. And so in study and experiment with regard to those better lines of social action which need to be introduced into the neighborhood and the local district, the residents are led at once to the investigation of such larger enterprise as is already active in the city,

whether it be in the way of charity, philanthropy, popular education, trade organization, or religious effort. But here again this kind of work often, upon investigation and after experiment, proves to be full of mistakes and shortcomings, which need to be corrected. Often a dire need in one neighborhood is a dire need in all the neighborhoods of the city, with no development of resources to meet the need. Often under both of these circumstances it becomes the duty of the resident of a settlement, in the interest of the city as a whole, to take steps toward the further development of partial measures, and toward the introduction from the beginning of new schemes in one line or other of social advance.

This, then, leads the settlement out into the broad field of social economics as studied and practiced the world over. Indeed, in all the wider, as well as in all the more intense, investigations and efforts carried on by the residents of the settlement, it is to be considered highly necessary that the practical work and study of the settlement should be carried on in the light of such study and such work as it goes on in various parts of the world. The settlement, therefore, has its sociological library and its sociological periodicals; and it requires of its men or women some particular aptitude or preparation for the application of such study to the work in hand, and even that rarer power for the qualification of the results of study by the results of actual experiment. This leads one to say what has already been intimated, and what I trust will be more clearly established as I go on, that there is much in the spirit and method of settlement work which as yet finds no direction from the traditions, writings, or experience of others. It stands, in a particular way, for the tardy entrance into social work of those who have presumably been nurtured after the best manner in the truths and impulses of the higher human life and the later human civilization, into a deliberate career of social reconstruction. Their point

of view for study is different, their point of departure for action is different, from that which has been held by exemplars of social service in the past. They come, if they are loyal to their nurture, with devotion to everything that goes to make up the good and beautiful life. This life serves as a kind of standard, which regulates their sense of the proportion of things, by which they measure the evils of social conditions, and by which they measure the healing virtue of social resources.

Social conditions and social resources have not in the past been so studied and so experimented upon. The university settlement resident comes to his study and his work with a stirring belief in the life-giving quality of culture. He holds every good thing a means of grace. He believes so deeply in what he has to bring that he is willing to do his work without seeing the results. He confers upon his neighbors, the working people, the signal honor and respect of trusting them with all those better things which refresh and strengthen his own life. He is, if he is truly educated, a believer in man, a democrat, a citizen of the world, and as such nothing human is foreign to him; and he sees in every human life what rouses in him living interests, honest admiration, something worthy of companionship, of laughter, of tears. Such is the scientist in this new kind of laboratory.

We may not ask or claim too much when we say that from the settlements will come some wholly new illumination into the life of the common people, some wholly new plans by which the treasures of knowledge and beauty, of friendship, of commanding energy and righteousness, shall be made the possession, the natural inheritance of the people. Just as through the last few generations the results of discovery, exploration, experiment, and invention have been making available for the use of man, have been bringing to light, organizing and adapting for the needs of men, material re-

sources of the world; so now, retaining these same powers and applying them to a finer and more complex material and bringing them into far more delicate and difficult adjustment, the work of the present and the coming day is to discover, to arrange, and to assimilate, according to the needs of human life, the whole of the higher resources of civilization. To this new task the university settlements are committed by all the interests and hopes which have brought them into existence.

But we must look more particularly into the life and work of the settlement in order to find in what specific ways it fulfills the office of a sociological laboratory. I would first like to show you how largely the regular work of the settlement from day to day is done after the analytical and synthetic method of science. I shall then give some particular instances of careful and persistent investigation of certain lines of social facts, with inductions therefrom in the way of suggestions of social action which have already been accomplished by residents at settlements, together with other suggested lines for investigation which can easily be taken up as the settlement progresses.

The basis upon which the neighborhood work of the settlements proceeds is that of acquaintance and friendship. This for social investigation is as much a dictate of science, as for the improvement and elevation of people it is a dictate of human feeling and common sense.

The reproach of social science thus far has been that it has not sought out and presented the elusive but distinctive quality and essence of human life. Where in any accurate actual study, save those of Frédéric Le Play and Charles Booth, does one feel all along that persons, men and women — souls if you please — are being dealt with? Social science, if it is to be truly scientific, dealing with human beings, must use the most delicate human apparatus in the way of

personal acquaintance and sympathy, in order to gain accurate and delicate results. It must have some such carefully modulated system as that of organic chemistry, which detects and classifies and symbolizes, so far as may be, all the subtle ethers which, subtle though they are, yet absolutely differentiate every flower from every other flower, and every fruit from every other fruit.

The acquaintance which the settlement seeks has to do not only with individuals, but with families, and not only with families, but with the different little groups into which families resolve themselves. In some instances each of several small localities is the special care of a certain resident. He visits its families from time to time until he becomes on easy and familiar terms with all of them. He avoids absolutely the mechanical and inquisitive methods of the census-taker. He is not a "visitor" in the professional sense of that term, going monotonously and regularly from house to house. He is simply a neighborly caller. He gradually comes to know the things that make up the life of these people just as one friend comes to know about another friend. And so he begins to make out a complete schedule of what life means in the particular street or court where his new-found friends live, including the outer conditions of the place and the inner nature of the people; the general condition as to cleanliness and sanitation outside the houses; the plumbing, drainage, light, and ventilation within; the children's playground (for they are pretty sure to have one); the homes in which people live, the size, number, convenience and privacy of rooms, the care that is taken of them; regard or disregard of neatness, cleanliness, and order in the home; the food which each family consumes and the cooking of it; the clothing they wear; the work they do; the wages which the bread-winners receive; the care with which the family income is spent, the various ways in which it is spent, the thrift, the cost of rent;

the influence of intelligence and character, or the lack of it, upon the family and upon the neighborhood; the pursuits and recreation of the members of the family in common and the effect of the life of the family upon its individual members and upon other families; the general character thus given to the locality as a whole, with particular reference to the improving and degrading influences that exist among this group of families; and all further isolated details of the existence of the individuals making up the group, both personally and in relation to each other, all matters which affect their bodily health, labor, education, sobriety, honesty, nationality, and religion. This is the kind of patient and comprehensive investigation which is beginning to be undertaken at the settlements, requiring pains and effort, but made light all the time by the human interest which it calls out.

A peculiarly important line of social investigation and experiment, which is being undertaken by university settlements, is the discovery of such forms of original organization and coöperation among the people themselves as exist in the neighboring district; and what is equally important, endeavor in the way of participating as a local neighbor on the same plane as the rest in such efforts, for the sake of finding what actual social value there is in them, and how that value may be enhanced by the residents without running too great a risk of destroying the independent incentive of the people themselves; for every germ of collective initiative on the people's part is to the social student of the same stirring interest as a rare specimen to the naturalist. It is as dear to him mentally as, from the point of view of philanthropy and social reform, it is dear to him morally. It gives him the opportunity he most longs for, to see the internal life and movement of the part of society which is the object of his investigation.

To him, in the original social enterprise of his neighbors, there is a kind of nascent force which is never so clearly present elsewhere, and which produces certain unmistakable and significant affinities through which great results may come. From this point of view it is not of the greatest consequence just what the particular basis of organization may be, whether it be a trade-union, a friendly society, a workingmen's club, a temperance society, a Grand Army Post, or a military company. It was very interesting, for instance, a while ago at the North End of Boston where the Italians live, to see by posters in the windows that there was to be a dance under the combined auspices of the society "Vittorio Emmanuel" and the club "George Washington."

One of the very many things done at Hull House is to bring together people of different nationalities to sing their national songs and to observe their national holidays; thus merely organizing the people on the basis of social principles already felt and recognized among them. All effort in this direction, the coöperation of the people on the basis of their own organizing principles, will be of the greatest scientific value, both in the way of the careful experimental direction of those forces to some better and worthier end than the people would themselves direct them, and in enabling us to know, as the result of experiment, how best to stimulate in the people themselves their own wiser and more persistent action.

I need not, I think, discuss at length the particular influence which such effort may have upon the various phases of the labor movement. Those of us who are concerned with settlement work believe that there are large possibilities in this direction. We believe that we shall be able by degrees to bring about a little of that illumination which is, after all, the great end of social science, and will enable men in different circumstances of life with different training and differ-

ent feeling to put themselves in each other's place. At Toynbee Hall there has been some very useful effort of this kind both in the way of investigation and experiment. Certain residents and associates of Toynbee Hall have been intimate in the counsels of the Dockers' Union. One Toynbee man unofficially gave most valuable assistance in connection with the great dock strike, and he and another Toynbee man wrote a careful account of the strike in all its management and strategy. The frequent conferences and discussions at Toynbee Hall, at which laborer, capitalist, and scholar meet, constitute real and most valuable social experiment, with results which are apparent in the better knowledge and sympathy which they bring about.

Hull House is in a similar way an active center for discussion and conference between trade-unionists and persons not of the working class. In Boston a series of conferences have been held, in which two settlements brought together influential people of different classes to discuss the labor question and other social problems. A federal labor union has been formed, in affiliation with the American Federation of Labor, the members of which are partly trade-union leaders and partly residents and friends of the settlements. This action will pledge those who join the federal union to a belief in the value of labor organization, but will not commit them to the wholesale approval of things done in the name of trade-unionism. It will give the members of the several unions a unique opportunity to learn from within what is the method of trade-unions and the spirit of those who lead them, and it will also give them an opportunity to secure a wiser development of the movement. In the same general way the workers in the settlements have constant opportunities to learn about and participate in other phases of organization among the working people in their social clubs, in their coöperative schemes, in their building and loan associa-

tions, in their insurance and benefit orders, and even in the different kinds of social disaffection and agitation — socialism, anarchism, land nationalization, and the like.

A settlement has good opportunities in the way of finding what the influence of politics is among such people as are immediately around it, and can judiciously attempt to purify and elevate the politics of the local ward or district. The Neighborhood Guild, now the University Settlement, in New York, has been making an effort in this direction. It has laid out for the Tenth Ward, in which it is located, a comprehensive political programme for the improvement of the ward, and is gradually bringing about a ward organization, which is pledged to introduce different reforms, mainly in the way of social politics. The Neighborhood Guild idea contemplates drawing very largely upon the latent energy of the immediate district for carrying on the various enterprises which it introduces. By this principle people come into organized social action under the leadership of persons from without the neighborhood. But these persons attempt in every possible way to draw out in the people the local responsibility for and interest in what is undertaken. Here the social student finds a somewhat different field for study and experiment than that in which the organization is under the people's own initiative.

On the other hand, this field involves different materials for study and experiment from those which appear under the plan of having aid, encouragement, and organization come largely and confessedly through influences from without the district. It is, after all, in influences brought in from without that the hope of progress in most of the poorer quarters of the cities comes. The university settlements have no desire to deceive themselves into thinking that they and their work are not, to all intents and purposes, an importation from other sections of the general community. They do not

attempt to identify themselves in any vapid and sensational way with the local life. They know that this can come about only gradually and partially at the most. A true university settlement welcomes every enterprise in its district which is contributing social value to the life of the district. It never competes with and always coöperates with every such effort. Wherever social work is being done, whatever be its origin, the settlement makes it its business, first, to make a careful estimate of the objective social value of that particular effort; second, to learn its existing methods; and third, to endeavor, to experiment, so to speak, after a wiser and more effective way of gaining the result aimed at. This is the line of action naturally followed by a settlement toward all the existing charitable and philanthropic activities as well as toward educational and religious effort in its district.

The amount of time and effort given to this coöperation with existing agencies differs at different settlements. But so far as my own attitude is concerned, I regard it as one of the most important features of settlement work to bring into the various forms of charity and philanthropy that broader sense of the situation which is gained by living among those whom you would help, and acting as a medium through which the local agencies of charity and philanthropy may to a great extent run the gamut of the need of the locality and take up into themselves more and more of the social energy existing in the neighborhood and capable of being turned to social account. On the other hand, it is of great value to the settlement worker, particularly to the novice, to learn from the experienced and systematic charity worker.

Thus far I have said little about the new forms of social work which the settlement itself introduces into the neighborhood. I have already suggested that the settlements may be expected to make some genuine contributions in the way of the larger application of the resources of society to social

needs. Having made a diagnosis of their neighborhood and district, having learned carefully about the various influences which tend socially to elevate or depress, they now begin to introduce afresh various forms of effort, more or less highly organized, toward the subduing, softening, refining, enlightening, and uplifting of the men, women, and children who live immediately about them. This is done in a thousand different ways; sometimes under a well-established plan, and sometimes through novel schemes shifting from day to day, until the right line of success is found.

There is no rule as to the carrying out of this sort of settlement work. There is about it constantly, however, a distinct note and a distinct motive — the note of personality, and the motive of bringing to bear upon the life of the neighborhood through personality every influence which ennobles persons. Here, then, is the transcendent function of the university settlement as a social science laboratory: to mix in the crucible of the glowing life of a little circle of human souls those various elements which have been found through the ages to combine together, so as to throw off the dross and the slag of human nature and to set free its pure and shining metal. Do we, indeed, believe in civilization? Have we faith enough in those things which console and uplift us to believe they will console and uplift others in different walks of life from us? Do we believe that the good and beautiful life is full of absolute interest and fascination? If we believe it, let us prove it to be true. This expression of the deeper purpose which animates the young men and young women concerned in the university settlement movement catches its suggestion no less from the motives of the heroes of science than from those which in some form or other have animated the prophets and reformers.

In some of the larger lines of social investigation and social experiment as they affect the life of the great city and of

the community in general, we may expect as time goes on some useful results from the university settlement. The university settlement being a scientific laboratory, some workers in this laboratory become experts in their departments. The settlement is a group of experts and adepts in different lines of social effort; a group of such persons living intimately together constantly stirring each other to fresh interest by the result of new information and discovery. And as a poor and crowded neighborhood is a microcosm of all social problems, the resident by his study and experiment in the microcosm becomes equipped for study and work in the broader sphere. At the house with which I am connected, each resident is encouraged to take up for careful investigation some one of the larger phases of the city's life. During the past year one man has made a careful study of the whole question of popular amusements in the city, and as a result of inductions from the facts has reached some interesting and suggestive conclusions. In the same way and with a similarly useful result, another man has studied the work of the churches in the poorer parts of Boston. A third resident has been exemplifying the heroism of science, by donning the outfit of a tramp and spending many nights in the different cheap lodging-houses in the city for the sake of making a thorough exploration of this unknown land. The facts with regard to every cheap lodging-house in Boston will be collected and systematically arranged, including so far as possible the facts about the tramp, casual, and criminal element which infests these places, the whole study being carried on in the light of the history of vagabondage.[1] It is expected that from year to year further lines of investigation will be followed up, touching upon labor, temperance, education, the housing of the people, and other topics which easily suggest themselves.

[1] *Moody's Lodging House, and other Tenement Sketches.* By Alvan F. Sanborn. Boston: Small, Maynard & Co. 1896.

Corresponding to such lines of investigation as this, and indeed as a result of the study of the particular needs of the immediate neighborhood, several of the settlements are introducing practical economic experiments toward the improvement of the economic condition of the working people. At Toynbee Hall, for instance, an active part has been taken in the establishment of coöperative stores in East London, and three or four coöperative industries have been organized and are mainly directed by Toynbee Hall men. At the Oxford House, the vice-head of the house, a business man, has set going a large number of social and economic enterprises in connection with the University Club with its fifteen hundred workingmen members. He is also the creator of the Tee-To-Tum, a unique form of coffee-house, with various club features, several of which are now being successfully carried on in different parts of London. In connection with the Women's College Settlement in Rivington Street, New York, there is a coöperative dairy. At Hull House, the Jane Club, a large self-supporting home for working-women is being successfully carried on, besides a coffee-house, a New England kitchen, and other economic enterprises. The effort in connection with such experiments is to secure the interest and the active assistance of such persons as by training and experience are skilled in the line of the particular experiment that is being made.

A university settlement, according to its largest idea, would contain among its residents and its active associate workers, men and women who would cover the whole range of productive work whether in the way of manual, commercial, or professional skill. They would each study particularly those phases of social problems in the neighborhood and through the city which bore particularly upon their departments, and they would each undertake such particular effort and experiment as their training and experience would

best enable them to undertake. The tradesman would manage experiment in the way of distributive coöperation; the manufacturer of experiment in the way of productive cooperation; the real estate dealer would take hold of the financial side of the tenement-house problem; the craftsman would introduce manual training. At one of the newer settlements in London two young lawyers come one evening in every week to meet poor people in the neighborhood who have been subjects of injustice and oppression and assist them with legal counsel and aid. At the Women's College Settlement, New York, one of the residents is a practicing physician. It has been felt all along that the settlements would furnish the analogue of hospital training to young clergymen and to those who are going into charitable and philanthropic work, but it is the hope of those who have the movement at heart that the settlements will become training schools for every calling in life which has to do with the strengthening and upbuilding of society. There is no reason why lawyers, journalists, politicians, teachers, business men, artists, scientists, craftsmen, as well as all women aspirants toward doing a woman's work in this age of woman, should not take some such course similar to hospital training to fit them for the broader practice of their skill, by teaching them to adapt their powers to meet some of the wider extremes of such human need as their kind of power alone can meet.

And thus we may say at the end that the university settlements stand as laboratories in the greatest of all sciences: (1) By bringing together competent persons of varied tastes and training, who learn from day to day with all their senses, in all the usual experiences and in all the sudden turns of working-class life, what that life in its outer substance and in its inner forces is. (2) By testing, tempering, and modifying after a better pattern the varied interacting

apparatus, whether in the way of charity or self-help, which is set for the accomplishment of social work. (3) By bringing to the test of positive experiment the varied resources of culture and civilization in order to adapt them for accomplishing, by every sort of process, the enlivening and uplifting of humanity in all its parts; so that the nutrition appropriate for the social body, so to speak, may be normally assimilated, and may be taken up by a normal circulation, which will unerringly carry each nutritious and upbuilding element to that part of the organism whose need it appropriately fills. (4) By training men and women to be fit vehicles of such influence, to develop skilled social workers, and to send them out, not merely into professional charity and philanthropy, but into every kind of human activity, in order that they may broaden every form of human service so as to make it a truly social function. (5) By bringing far separated individuals and classes together so that they may all learn to classify themselves, not according to their superficial differences, but according to their deeper and more real unity, to the end that society may become truly homogeneous and organic, with a far stronger vital principle through which to adapt itself to its compelling environment, for filling out the pattern of human life, for accomplishing human destiny.

III

UNIVERSITY SETTLEMENTS: THEIR POINT AND DRIFT[1]

To most onlookers a peculiar mist seems to hover about the university settlement enterprise. At times this nebulous quality has given shape to a vision in which the flower of the country's youth, touched with a new chivalry, go forth to establish outposts of civilization among the supposed barbarian hordes that threaten the modern city. Again, to some, disdaining illusion, this glamour has resolved itself into the mere vagueness that goes with amiable ineffectiveness. Settlement workers, more desirous of escaping the romanticist than the cynic, have asked that both should for a time withhold judgment. They have urged that there was enough of promise in the bare fact that representatives of separated social classes were meeting one another as neighbors, to justify patient waiting for results.

It is not to be denied, however, that much has been gained from the expression of both imaginative and critical views with regard to university settlements. That the settlements have stood forth in picturesque aspects, so far from being a mark of ineffectiveness, constitutes one of the clearest evidences of their vitality. The scoffer who asserts that settlement houses have been simply a new device for entertaining and supplying honorific distinction to the superior classes may be reminded that Christianity was once the "fad" of a decadent imperial court, by way of becoming the foremost power in Europe. One of the most distinct contributions of the university settlement has consisted in presenting cer-

[1] *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, Harvard University, Cambridge, October, 1899.

tain necessary but apparently uninviting forms of social service in such light as to make them interesting. This new motive leaves aside the sentiments of pity and mercy, which have become outworn by the spread of democratic ideas. It challenges the restricted range of one's acquaintance and friendship. It calls for an extension of one's social intercourse so as to include men of a widely different way of life from one's own. It demands that this newly formed tie be solidified by so much actual identity of experience as may come to those who live under the same conditions of locality. While laying great stress upon the value of such relation as between individuals, it sets forth in this type of *rapprochement* between the "two nations" the practicability of allaying friction between classes and bringing about joint action between them in measures for the common good. In these ways the settlement scheme gives scope to a certain spirit of moral adventure, and even, in its larger light, carries a suggestion of statesmanship.

The lack of clear definition, which the critic points out, is, to a considerable degree, inherent in the nature of the undertaking. The fineness of the primary motive of neighborly acquaintance makes much organization undesirable. A system which seemed obtrusive would quickly find itself without material to its purpose. The very novelty of the settlement's way of approach to industrial problems, the sensitive issues involved in interclass diplomacy, call for the greatest care and gradualness in establishing a policy and entering upon a plan of action. If all the best results gained must come through informal personal relations, it is essential that the different residents should, to a great extent, be entrusted with full power. The range of settlement activity must be as wide as human need; so that no recipe, only spontaneous personality, is of much avail. In fact, the one way of learning effectually what to do is by a humble study from day to

day of the life of the people whom the settlement is designed to serve. There must indeed be a long-range policy and a compact scheme of organization; only these must take shape out of the particular conditions which they are in turn to mould.

Bent upon democratic coöperation with its constituency, having no sort of authoritative sanction over them, and wishing none, a settlement force cannot be organized after the manner of a military company, a business office, a church, or a school. If any comparison were to be made, settlement work is to be conducted somewhat in the method of practical politics. The wishes of the constituency have to be, not always obeyed, but always seriously taken into account. Politics, even as wrought in by so lofty a moralist as John Morley, is always a choice between evils. Settlement work is endless compromise. There is some consolation for this, however, in the fact that it is rigid schemes of life, economic and ethical, that are responsible for the rift in society which, according to its power, the settlement would endeavor to close.

Some of the uncertainty that exists as to the precise aim of the university settlement is the result of an effort on the part of settlement adherents to distinguish it from the undertakings of reformers, missionaries, and philanthropists, who are, with more or less benevolence, somewhat distant and autocratic in their methods — indifferent to the deeper values that go with the gaining of personal confidence and eliciting of personal choice — in their impatience for certain specific results. In the recoil from taking the kingdom of heaven by violence, it has often been said that one goes to a settlement simply to "live" among working people. The settlement life, as spoken of by the adept, connotes work and something more. This form of expression often indicates to the outsider something less than work; carrying with it that suggestion of

dilettanteism which sometimes comes to persons visiting settlement houses during hours of relaxation. On the other hand, it leaves upon certain more intense minds the impression that there is to be some sort of actual sharing in the daily stress of the laborer's existence.

The escape from dilettanteism, on one side, and asceticism, on the other, is not in fervent efforts based upon *a priori* conclusions, but in patient experimental action, guided by an acquaintance with the facts that is both extended and minute. The settlement undertakes to come objectively to the point of the conscious needs and uppermost impulses of the human nature with which it deals. It secures its vantage ground by establishing, in some sort, a home among other homes. Here its residents are subject to call, like a family physician, twenty-four hours in the day, seven days in the week. They go up and down the same streets with the people whom they would influence, they vote in the same wards, are sometimes purchasers at the same stores, sometimes spectators at the same places of amusement, sometimes worshipers at the same churches. As time goes on, they are in the confidence of many families, know the gossip of the back streets, and have a kindling interest in neighborhood affairs. They are, in fact, upon the scene, are part of the scene, of the local drama of life.

So much of common ground is sought, not for the sake of the experience, though the experience is valuable, but for the sake of such penetrating analysis as, for instance, the medical specialist gives his case, until he comes at that ultimate source of recuperative power upon which predominantly the hope of recovery depends; and for the sake of instituting favoring conditions, as the physician then does, to enable this vital reserve to rise into full and permanent power. A measure of reciprocal understanding, like that found between the residents of settlements and working people, is one

of the essential means of economic science in gaining many of its most important facts; while it is ever more clear that the working-class problem may be met, not by patronage and philanthropy, but only by public spirit and downright democratic feeling. This distinction is particularly important because the popular interest in the superficial aspects of settlement work has led to the use of the settlement as a means for promoting a variety of charitable and missionary ends. It is well that as much as possible of the settlement atmosphere should surround such work; but there is danger in some quarters that the settlement motive will be estimated, like a pack-horse, according to the amount of freight it can carry.

The question is often raised whether the settlement is designed to meet the situation in certain grades of working-class life or whether it is adapted to all grades indifferently.

Experience has conclusively shown that, while a settlement may find a provisional and partial field among all grades, there is a specific constituency to which its larger, more permanent service must be devoted. To attempt to affect the habitual recipient of material relief by settlement methods is using edge tools where machinery is needed. Settlements which have attempted this problem have as soon as possible turned it over to some special organized charity force. On the other hand, the settlement does not exist for the upper stratum of the personally ambitious and forceful, who tend constantly to rise out of the working class. A settlement may for a time make provision for such, and may afterwards follow them with encouraging interest; but their real opportunity lies in the extension of organized educational opportunities, which is everywhere taking place as a distinct growth. The general principle is that settlements are not to undertake, or to continue, any form of institutional work when agencies specially designed for such service are willing

to assume the responsibility. The initiating of experiments, charitable, philanthropic, educational, and economic, is of course an integral part of the settlement's duty; and these are carried by the settlement until they can be assumed by the public in one form or another. Often, also, a settlement not only has the responsibility for such enterprises, but must sustain older forms of organized service to whose value, though unquestionable, the general public sense may not yet have awaked. This state of things, however, is incidental, if not exceptional.

As an agency for social improvement, the settlement is a more significant and in its degree a more costly undertaking than is the elaboration of organized charity or of systematic popular education. It is designed to attempt a more difficult and a more serious problem. The "submerged" type is easily accessible on the basis of its necessities. The aristocracy of labor is easily accessible on the basis of its ambitions. There is a great middle class of labor, the working class proper, having the loyalties and passions of the proletariat, in one section of which is the center of industrial unrest, in another the center of corrupt municipal politics. It scorns charity. It is indifferent to offers of advanced education. This class is to be met only upon the basis of some of the commonplace interests of life. Within it one sort or another of social tie is always very strong. Now it is the most marked characteristic of the settlement that it meets persons always in the light of such relations, touching them at the point of family affection, neighborhood *camaraderie*, industrial and political affiliation, the clannishness of nationality or race, religious solidarity. The settlement, accurately speaking, stands not for relief, not for instruction, but for fellowship. Its difficult and vital task is to wrestle with the inherent organic life of the manual-labor class, to study the complicated interplay of attachments that go to make up its "consciousness of kind,"

and to join with it along its own lines, so far as possible, in its struggle for a higher standard of life and a greater share in the results of civilization. The settlement seeks to rehabilitate home and neighborhood life, which tend to become disintegrated under tenement-house conditions: to foster every kind of organization among workingmen that is wisely designed to strengthen their economic position; to gain some sort of practical influence in local politics and municipal administration; to honor what is genuine in the spirit of nationality among each of the complex elements of our working population, while exalting those American loyalties which can unite them into a common citizenship; to support religious fraternity and the ethical standards that go with it, while allaying religious strife; to bring capitalists and wage-earners, the educated class and the working class, into a just understanding of each other; to relate the resourceful ongoing life of the city to the monotonous, if not depressed, existence of its neglected districts. Like the mediæval monasteries, the university settlements, facing the worst results of the industrial revolution, of a new migration, and of the unmanageable growth of cities, may at first fill a strange variety of functions; but their deep and abiding use lies in direct effort toward scattering the social confusion and reëstablishing social order. In all this while giving little or no formal instruction, they undertake through the medium of friendly intercourse to disseminate the inspiration that goes with the cultured life. Without set schemes of reform, they aim to permeate every sort of popular association with the leaven of devotion to the common welfare.

There exists a sufficiently definite policy through which this motive is steadily being worked out. In the first place, the settlements have undertaken to restore for some of its uses the old-time parish system. In one form or another, that system is an indispensable means for sustaining the

general tone of a community. This is particularly true in the thickly inhabited quarters of great cities. Here the former parochial divisions, so far as there ever were any, have, of course, entirely disappeared. Moreover, the diversity of religious connection among our city population makes it wholly impossible to organize neighborhood life about the church. The settlement, standing only for those things which are common, is an instrument remarkably adapted to this great need. It assumes a special responsibility for all families living within a radius of a few blocks of the settlement house. The number of souls in this "parish" would be ordinarily from five thousand to ten thousand. In addition to its "parochial" work, the settlement also usually sustains a general relation to the larger district — containing from twenty-five thousand to one hundred thousand people — which circles about the immediate neighborhood.

The settlement comes in contact with its "parish" by means of an ascending scale of clubs which is organized so as to meet the needs of all ages and both sexes. As a rule, the groups are quite small in number, in order that the settlement worker who takes the lead of a club may become thoroughly acquainted with its members, with their families, and with the life of the streets out of which they come. In forming these little clubs, natural lines of cleavage are followed; that is, a group of boys who have already banded themselves into a "gang," will be taken bodily into the club scheme, and the "gang," as such, be brought under the mollifying influence of the settlement.

Gradually, as years go by, it becomes possible to honeycomb the neighborhood and many of its social growths with friendly influence, to impart higher personal and domestic standards, to raise the tone of social intercourse, and to secure from the neighborhood, as a whole, a return current of confidence in the settlement and its residents. Out of this

there naturally comes a variety of joint action between residents and neighborhood people in matters of personal, domestic, and neighborhood concern.

For the larger surrounding district — from which the "parish" is not, as a rule, distinctly separated — the problem is that of developing a variety of institutional resources suited to the general needs of a working-class community — facilities for the systematic relief of distress, the removal of insanitary and degrading conditions, the care of neglected children, the provision of the means of cleanliness, physical exercise, and recreation, together with efforts toward a more widely available and a more realistic type of education. Along with these must go a variety of economic experiments, designed to encourage thrift and to secure to the people the maximum returns from their slender incomes.

In Chicago it has been necessary for the settlements to build up and mass together such agencies into single strong centers of light. In an older city like Boston, where the charities are fully organized and educational facilities are almost bewildering in number and variety, settlements are enabled to devote themselves to their more distinctive task. The more highly organized settlement, as a recompense for its additional burdens, has a valuable opportunity in the way of carrying the settlement motive up into education and down into charity. In the simpler type of settlement the workers often render similar service by throwing much of their effort into independent forms of educational and charitable enterprise in the local district. Some of the best results in the way of entering into district affairs have come through holding official appointments in connection with the schools or some department of the city administration. The practice of one's profession as physician, lawyer, or journalist, or the application of one's business training to some sort of economic experiment, serves to put a resident into

vital relations with people in matters that have to them the greatest possible reality.

The mere topographical line, however, is not adequate to mark off the social factors that make up the constituency of the settlement. The settlement represents a shaft sent down to a certain stratum of society. Its basis for sympathetic acquaintance with the people in its vicinity gradually comes to serve for mutual understanding with people of the same sort in other parts of the city. In this way it comes into touch with popular industrial, political, and religious organizations in their more general scope.

As to organized labor, settlements usually give it unequivocal support so far as its fundamental principles are concerned. Without, of course, endorsing all that is done in the name of labor, they often support trade-unionism by aiding in the management of weak unions, and by taking the part of labor in controversies in which its cause seems clearly just. With the advantages of economic study, a resident can often widen the view of trade-union leaders as to some of the bearings of their practical policy; and useful service has been rendered in addresses before gatherings of workingmen by showing trade-unionism in connection with industrial history in the past, and by demanding that it be faithful to its ideals for the future.

Settlement procedure with regard to politics is not so direct. In one specific case, where a ward organization is at once dominant and hopelessly corrupt, a settlement has twice made strong but unsuccessful attacks upon the local machine. In another instance a settlement has accomplished useful results for its district by coöperating directly with the city administration, regardless of the local political authorities. In still another situation a settlement has scored a local success in an evenly divided ward by securing the balance of power. This last is, however, an exceptional case; and the

practical alternative really lies between the first two policies. To enter into a local political contest is likely for the time to endanger the hold of the settlement in its neighborhood; but that is hardly a sufficient reason for hesitancy. The real difficulty lies in the fact that the social groupings which coalesce into the local political parties are of too elemental a nature to be scattered and put together again, especially by persons coming from without. The only permanent hope for better politics in such districts lies in influences that will gradually level up the entire local electorate. Meanwhile settlements are coming to represent for certain purposes a large constituency of intelligent voters scattered throughout their cities; and with such support, of which a clever ward politician easily sees the importance in a general city election, the settlement becomes a factor which he will less and less be able to despise. With that body of voters behind them the settlements have a distinct mission — to stand for a form of municipal government which will be not merely negatively incorrupt, in accordance with past traditions, but judiciously progressive in such way as to serve actual public needs as they exist among the city population of the present. For such a programme it is sometimes possible, as has already been proved, to secure through settlement influences a combination of forces between the voters just referred to and the trade-union constituency, which is increasingly independent of mere party lines in municipal elections.

Racial or national loyalties, causing so much confusion to well-meaning but unenlightened people, present to the student a field of peculiar interest. He is able to appreciate the distinctive genius of each type and to sympathize with its traditions. This is, therefore, another of the serious points in the American working-class problem at which the university settlement comes particularly into play. In some instances the different national holidays have been observed

after the manner of the fatherland. In the settlement scheme of neighborhood organization no obstacle is placed in the way of people of the same nationality who prefer to meet by themselves; but the settlement stands as a common ground where all must, to a certain extent, mingle together, and where prejudices are discountenanced. The best results in this direction come from instilling into the minds of the newcomers and their children American political ideas and American national loyalties. For such service the settlement must, of course, yield the honor to the public school. It is, however, a distinct part of a settlement's neighborhood work to confirm the influence of the schools by keeping up the connection between them and the children's homes. There is, as to this general matter, a definiteness in the settlement method which the public school necessarily lacks. It is too often forgotten that patriotic aspirations would mean but little unless based upon our high economic standard. In its pointed fitness for imparting to the immigrant a wider and higher range of wants in his domestic and social life, and stimulating him to the accomplishment of his new desires, the settlement becomes a distinctly important means toward true Americanism.

It seems to be usually understood that settlements omit religion from their scheme. This is not the case. Religion as a constructive moral force is an essential part of the settlement's concern. Only when religion assumes phases which make it an anti-social and disintegrating force does the settlement stand aloof. It is needless to say, therefore, that it does not itself float the banner of any competing sect. It encourages its workers to coöperate with such local religious effort as may appeal to them. Usually it has a varied representation of religious creeds upon its staff. It endeavors to secure common action among the local churches in matters of obvious social duty, thus making a practical contribution

toward the allaying of religious strife and the securing of larger returns from the organized moral forces of the community. In all its relations with the people, the settlement stands for the deepest respect for each man's faith and for distinct encouragement to him in sustaining the observances that are associated with it. This is not the neutrality of indifference. It is the tolerance of those who themselves deeply believe. The attitude of the settlement toward religion is in principle precisely the same as toward the labor question and toward politics. It cares little about parties, much about the municipality. It foresees organized capital and organized labor becoming the complementary factors in the organization of industry. It finds in each fragment of the church germs of a "national society for the promotion of righteousness." Thus the value of all the old loyalties is fully recognized. The settlement is neutral only in that it sets up no new loyalties centering in itself.

The function of the settlement as a connecting link between the two great sections of society is one that will be more appreciated as the extent of the cleavage between them comes to be realized. In American cities, between the commercial and professional classes, on the one hand, and the working class, on the other, there run four interrelated and inveterate lines of distinction — economic, political, racial, and religious. It is unfortunately true in large cities, at least, that the Americanizing process, remarkable as its achievements are, has had its results rather in opening up fuller intercourse within this heterogeneous immigrant mass than in relating it in any way to the original American element in the population. The entire scheme of settlement work, at every point, is now bringing about this sort of relation. Moreover, as rapidly as a settlement worker himself comes into acquaintance with the representatives of any form of working-class *esprit de corps*, he proceeds to bring them into

touch with men and women of the other classes, for the sake of friendly conference and, if possible, for some form of practical coöperation. The securing of working-class representation in all undertakings affecting the people of the community as a whole is a prominent factor in settlement policy.

The university settlement brings the resident into a new attitude. It provides a point of view, a point of departure, with regard to working-class problems, from which the facts may be observed in something like their actual perspective, and from which the facts may actually be affected. Considering that a great part of the toil of science consists in securing the most favorable conditions for investigation and experiment, the settlement must be admitted to have significant prospects as a laboratory and experiment station in one of the most important fields of economic science. That this ground is so frequently burned over by ill-considered, superficial reform only increases the necessity of deeper penetra tion and a persistent policy guided by the facts thus ascertained.

There have been two hindrances to development in this direction. The settlements have been compelled during their first years to justify their existence by the simpler forms of service. In the second place, partly on account of the limitation just mentioned, students trained to economic investigation have not yet realized the opportunities which the university settlement can afford them. The restricted sphere of the settlement in its early stages will, however, prove to be of advantage even from the scientific point of view, as giving a sympathetic acquaintance with the domestic life of working people and their general morale, which is an essential preliminary to an understanding of working-class problems. It must not be forgotten, either, that in the settlement method for neighborhood improvement an experi-

ment of distinct importance in connection with the question of the American city is being worked out.

Within the past three or four years several of the older settlements have begun to make returns in the way of economic studies. The more important special investigations have had to do with the inner phases of tenement-house and lodging-house life, with child labor, with the sweating system, and with the sources of "boss" rule in ward politics. Studies of less consequence to the student, but still of value as affecting public opinion, have been made with regard to different racial and national types, and with regard to trade-unionism. Two comprehensive analyses of economic and moral conditions in settlement districts have been published, with maps like those of Mr. Charles Booth, to illustrate in detail the economic conditions and the racial affiliations of the population.[1]

Along with the growth of systematic investigation have come beginnings in the development of the practical expert. One settlement resident for several years held the post of chief inspector of factories in the State of Illinois. Others have been employed in the municipal service in connection with the inspection of sanitary conditions in tenement-house districts. In two cases, residents have been chosen to conduct local investigations for United States Government bureaus. In a number of cases settlements have been drawn upon by private organizations for the inspection of special systems of extortion practiced upon the poor, as well as for the securing of information to be used in proceeding against sweatshop proprietors and the owners of tenement houses unfit for human habitation. Residents have been called to important service upon boards of charity, public and private.

[1] *Hull House Maps and Papers.* By Residents of Hull House, Chicago. New York: T. Y. Crowell & Co. *The City Wilderness.* By Residents and Associates of the South End House, Boston. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company.

The head worker of the New York University Settlement had a large share in the active direction of the Citizens' Union campaign in that city some years ago. In Boston several residents of settlements serve upon municipal commissions. Settlements are also able to render skilled service in bringing about needed legislation for the protection of the working classes. The laws against the sweating system in New York and Illinois owe their existence chiefly to effort on the part of settlement workers.

It is easy to see considerable possibilities before a well-organized university settlement in the way of accurately tracing the path of public administrative and legislative advance as affecting working-class needs. Such a settlement will have an even more important field in seeking to discover the true lines for guiding the community's educational and moral action by bringing to light the facts as to racial, religious, and industrial types and gradations. The day of sentimental philanthropy and doctrinaire reform is passing. The enormous wastes, set over against equally palpable shortcomings, in the efforts of the public schools and of the church — viewed as social forces — are the result not so much of imperfect facilities and technique as of the lack of minute and luminous information about the mass of human nature which it is their function to fashion and perfect. The settlement is an instrument specifically designed to secure such information. That it is beginning to do so may be inferred — to give a single instance — from a statement recently made by the minister of an important and useful mission church to the effect that the facts presented in a study issued by one of the settlements, if they had been known some years ago, would have materially altered his plan of action, and would have obviated the useless expenditure of a large amount of time and money.

As to the various forms of collective action in the working class itself, the first-hand knowledge that is obtained at a set-

tlement promises to be of service, not only to those who deal with working people in personal ways, but to those who are interested in the broader bearings of industrial, political, and religious problems. It is also likely to contribute, directly and indirectly, toward a more far-seeing policy for the working-class organizations themselves. In both directions the settlement extends its services for the discovery and presentation of facts. In the matter of municipal politics, for instance, two settlement investigations, one of which has been called by high authority "a genuine contribution to political science,"[1] have conclusively confirmed practical settlement experience to the effect that broad appeals in the name of "good government" are, in congested city wards, inevitably futile beside the tangible benefits which the boss has to bestow, and his exhaustive scheme for manipulating popular organizations and rousing class consciousness among his constituency. On the other hand, the settlement, partly through its neighborhood activities and partly through its general influence with the public, can impress upon the mind of the local politician the importance of acting to a greater or less extent in harmony with the plans of the settlement.

In connection with politics, with religion, with the labor question, the settlement, using a great variety of means for obtaining its facts, is seeking, by painstaking analysis, to discover what basis of mutual understanding and common interest there is between opposing parties. Upon this basis it proposes to work experimentally toward the establishment of a *modus vivendi*. At present, in all our large cities, employers and workmen, taxpayers and the mass of voters, Protestants and Catholics, stand in an attitude of armed neutrality toward each other. The settlement is an outpost for the discovery, by scientific method, of the next step toward social peace.

[1] The *Nation*, February 16, 1899.

When the first American settlement houses were opened, the question whether a continuous resident force could be kept together in this country was a serious one. Twelve years' experience has solved this problem, but not altogether as was anticipated. It has been found that, though there are those who can and will give their services without remuneration, not a sufficient number of such will volunteer to make up a solid and permanent force. Adequate provision has to be made, in one way or another, for the executive staff; and some sort of fellowship or stipend is provided at several settlements, under which persons may take up residence in order to carry on specific forms of work and study. In some cases fellowships are provided by colleges and universities. An interesting and useful type of resident is the one who follows some regular calling, and assists in the work of the settlement during leisure hours. No gain accrues to the settlement ordinarily from those who remain in residence not more than a few months; and several settlements refuse to accept those who tarry for so brief a period. Volunteer workers, not in residence, but keeping regular appointments, can often, by continuous application, render valuable service. Most settlement groups in their early stages are made up either of men by themselves or of women by themselves. It is soon found, however, that both men and women are needed. The deficiency is partly made up through the volunteer service of outsiders; but, in an increasing number of cases, both men and women workers reside in the neighborhood where their interests are. In the Western cities, as college graduates are familiar with the tradition of co-education, men and women residents dwell under the same roof.

With the establishment of a practical basis for a continuous resident force, a sufficient number of young men and women have been available to sustain and increase the work of the older settlements and to supply recruits for a large

number of new enterprises. There are now upwards of twenty-five well-established settlements in American cities, with fully three times that number of missions and philanthropies claiming the settlement name. One inference from this remarkable development is that the average substantial citizen, by giving his financial support, is already recognizing the university settlement as having justified its existence, and as exhibiting the signs of permanency and of further growth.

The full hope that is indulged in with regard to the spread of settlements in cities is that there will be a chain of them running through each large working-class district. There ought to be one establishment of the kind, it is thought, for every ten thousand people. Settlements would thus not only go over the ground piecemeal, but could combine together for great general enterprises that would distinctly affect the life of the larger district and of the city as a whole. Up to the present, settlement work has had the disadvantage that it represented no sort of broad mastery such as to affect discernibly the public course of life in a great district. In due time it is believed that this result will be achieved. There are already two or three instances where there is beginning to be such a combination of forces, and where the sympathetic observer may begin to trace in the prevailing local feeling and in local social customs and institutions the sort of change with which settlement workers are familiar in smaller ways in their immediate neighborhoods.

It is a fair question, however, whether the best result that has come or may come from the university settlements is not that which appears in the reaction upon the settlement worker and to a degree upon the educated classes generally. Large numbers of persons possessing the advantages of life have, through their acquaintance with the motives here outlined, acquired a sounder and more constraining sense of so-

cial service. The coming into touch with persons of another walk in life, who have the unexpected intellectual and moral values which go with that type of existence, leads to a sort of illumination comparable with that which comes from travel in a foreign land. The stimulus which accompanies the discovery that one's particular talents may find a new constituency and a wider sphere brings a peculiar sense of exhilaration. The element of actuality in what is undertaken has tended to give some of that confidence and repose which goes with the scientific habit of mind. The opening of new avenues of service has let free the impulse of devotion in a period of religious doubt. This sort of reflex influence has, directly and indirectly, come to pervade a large share of the cultivated life of the country. The future will no doubt show that it has brought about in an important degree a state of preparedness for some of the foremost issues that the future is to bring.

IV

SETTLEMENT HOUSES AND CITY POLITICS[1]

THERE is danger that settlement work in its relations with municipal politics will be hindered by the traditions of past efforts in the direction of municipal reform. Municipal reform has often been strong in the rôle of opposition, but thus far it has not been able to devise a method which would have the responsible qualities of permanence and effectualness.

It is, of course, still true to a considerable extent that municipal politics is so corrupt as often to leave to the honest citizen with a sense of public duty no recourse but that of outright and determined hostility. In due time, however, we must develop a type of politician having at once the high devotion of the reformer and the patience and tact of the practical man of affairs. Nothing could be more vain than the hope that by fine appeals to civic sentiment and by new elaborations of charters and departmental technique, we can effect a complete transformation into a régime of administrative purity and efficiency. The attacks of the reformer on the strongholds of municipal organizations serve, of course, to keep those organizations from going to certain extremes. The real advantage of this result, however, is not in the slight gain made for better government in itself considered, but is rather in the way of supplying a foothold for the permanent entrance of a higher grade of practical politician.

Settlement work stands for reform by identification and coöperation. Under the settlement scheme, opposition must be reduced to the minimum. Settlement policy is essentially a policy of compromise. In educational matters, in the

[1] *Municipal Affairs*, New York, June, 1900.

labor problem, in religion, the settlement worker is always the possibilist. His steps are guided by the desire to come into fellowship with the people who happen to be about him, and not by doctrinaire standards or the abstract passion for perfection. It is also true that a settlement must give every possible hostage to fortune and must enter upon a constructive, statesmanlike policy for the district of which it aims to become more and more an integral and vital part.

From this point of view it must distinctly be said that municipal reform which devotes itself to the correction of the methods of city government must nearly always be futile, because it is not so much the methods as the aims of city government that vitally concern the masses of the citizens. The settlement worker himself, from the very pressure of conditions about him, turns instinctively to the city government with the request, not merely that it perform its local service more thoroughly, but that it keep widening the range of its local service. In a cruder, more individual way, and looking upon the city government as composed of certain individuals, this is precisely the attitude of the people of the district. They take it for granted that the municipality is to be of some sort of use to them. The opportunity of the settlement lies in discerning and bringing to the local consciousness individual needs which are common needs, public needs, and in organizing movements in municipal politics through which such needs shall be met.

At the same time, the natural political following of the settlement is not the inhabitants of the neighborhood in which the settlement is located, but rather public-spirited people throughout the city generally who share the settlement point of view and will act with it in efforts for better and more progressive municipal administration, especially in the interest of the masses of the people. In all our cities there is coming to be an increasing body of independent

voters, constituting a balance of power, through which important concessions can be gained from both parties. The settlement having its connections with the general independent vote, as well as, to a degree, with the local vote in its own district, has a special opportunity in the way of suggesting and promoting measures such as will secure the support of both these elements in the electorate.

In nearly all cases it is idle for the settlement to attempt to win away the following of local politicians. To make such an attempt is to leave out of account the loyalties of class, race, and religion which bind the people of the crowded wards to their political leaders. The notion that the young university man, by living in such a ward a few years and dispensing kindness around, can become political master of the situation, is one that belongs to the story-books. The successful political leader is the man to the local manner born, who enters instinctively into the ambitions and passions of his people, and to whom they return even after he has been untrue to them, as one does to a blood relation. No ready-made attachment can take the place of such a bond as this.

The method of the boss in organizing his local power, however, has two fatal defects. The awarding of his favors has the uncertainty of a game of chance; after election he may not have favors to award. It has in addition a great deal of unfairness and partiality. The strength of the method of the boss lies in the fact that it has to do with supplying tangible benefits to meet keenly felt, unrelenting human needs such as are characteristic of his constituency. He controls some of the best avenues to livelihood; the winning of a job or a license depends on him. A man in need may through him reach the resources of charity. A wrongdoer may through him find immunity from punishment.

There is already sufficient experience to prove that settle-

ment workers may be the means of introducing a new sort of issue into local politics which will to a large extent have the advantage of the boss's method without its weakness. A municipal platform calling for playgrounds, public baths, public gymnasiums, public libraries, popular lectures and concerts in the tenement-house wards is one that proposes tangible and eagerly sought benefits, which are to be dispensed without the precariousness and favoritism of the boss's bestowings, but with the regularity and impartiality of public service. This contrast is one that becomes more and more distinct as such improvements are introduced and as their practical worth comes to be recognized and registered in the prevailing local sentiment.

It is found, moreover, that the boss is compelled, whatever his own inclinations may be, to become a supporter of such a progressive policy. As the policy becomes more firmly established, we may reasonably expect to see a better type of local political leader, a man who endeavors to supply local public needs rather than merely to "fix" a certain number of influential individuals. The mass of the voters under such a policy come to have a new sense as to the meaning of their citizenship, when they find the municipality touching their lives in ways of substantial helpfulness, and as they realize that they are themselves joint owners in such beneficent enterprises. The Dover Street bath-house in Boston, at which three hundred thousand baths were taken during its first year, is, I believe from close observation, quite as important an influence toward civic loyalty as it is toward public health.

Such a policy cannot be introduced, however, without the aid of the independent vote which has already been mentioned. It is the most important office of the settlement in practical city politics to bring about so much of common understanding and united action between public-spirited

citizens and local politicians as will make it possible to secure for the tenement-house districts of the city public improvements suited to their particular needs. It has long been seen that the adornment with parks and boulevards of the districts of the city in which well-to-do people live was a matter affecting the general public welfare. It is time now that the intelligent and prosperous classes in our cities should see that it is at least as much to the public interest that some show of justice should be done to the neglected portions of the city through supplying means of health and recreation analogous to those which the uptown districts are so amply favored with.

The object of the settlement, therefore, in political matters is to lift local issues to the level of common, honest, local needs; to instill into the mind of the local voter, by actual experience on his part, a conception of the city as a coöperative enterprise based on mutual aid, instead of either an oligarchy whose favor is to be gained by truckling, or of an efficient despotism under some commercial Cincinnatus; not to attempt the destruction of the boss, but to develop out of him a type of local leader who shall, with as much realism as before, stand for a distinctively local kind of public spirit; and to induce larger and larger numbers of progressive citizens, living in different sections of the city, to join with the settlement in taking these perfectly definite steps toward a more realistic type of municipal politics.

V

NEIGHBORHOOD GUILDS IN COUNTRY VILLAGES [1]

THE growth of large cities in this country, with all the progress which has accompanied it, has yet brought certain great groups of people into relations and conditions which bring serious injury to the individual, and are dangerous to society. The growth of cities is responsible for the crowded tenement-house districts, where the working people are set off by themselves and left to their own devices; for the aristocratic quarters set off by themselves, where the rich live their life of money-getting or of idleness and indulgence; and for the dreary village communities, which, for hundreds of miles around our great cities, have yielded tribute of all their most enterprising spirits, drawn by the fascination of city life into the contest for the great stakes which it has to offer. When we consider that never yet in the history of civilization has the life of any great city been sufficiently sane and normal to secure its work done from generation to generation by its own native stock, the decay of life in our country villages becomes at least as important a matter as the threat of the submerged tenth in the cities. We must hope, I think, that there will be a reaction of some sort from the overwhelming tendency toward centralization. The polarity of the social body must somehow be restored. A civilization which compels a very large portion of the people to live in a landscape of brick walls, stone pavements and strips of sky, can hardly in the nature of things hope to continue.

The country villages, on the other hand, though they have the trees, the hills, and the broad horizon, present a social

[1] *Unity;* Chicago, December, 1892.

situation which in several respects approximates that of the working-class quarters in the cities. In both cases men live in groups isolated from most of the resources of modern civilization. In both cases work is too largely drudgery. In both the specter of poverty is at the door. The farmers and the trade-unionists are learning that they have common ills.

In both sorts of community, life runs in a narrow circuit. There is little to stir the blood and stimulate the imagination. Both are lacking in chances for education and for healthy amusement and recreation. The crowded city quarter is made up of those who have entered the lists for our fierce competitive struggle, and for some reason, often creditable to them, are beaten back. The country village is made up of those who are equally out of the fight, but because they have never tried.

Is it impossible to have again under modern conditions something like the old village life, so that the villages shall again become centers of interest, activity, and enterprise, in and of themselves; so that the country village shall have something to set over against the fascination of the city; so that country village life will be far more free, more happy, more eventful? We believe this can be done for the depressed sections of our cities. I now suggest certain ways in which exactly the social work which is beginning to be done in the cities can be undertaken in our country villages.

In order not to make this a mere fancy sketch, one must know what persons are available in country villages to do the sort of social work that is needed. In the first place, here is the opportunity of the country parson to adapt himself to the modern needs of modern people, and bring back the old tradition of the minister knowing his flock and known of them, touching the life of every person in the community at each person's particular point of interest and of need. First as an opportunity, and presently as a sheer necessity, this

sort of work is going to be the way out of sectarianism, bigotry, and selfish competition among the different churches in our small places. If there are two parsons, or half a dozen, as there sometimes are in a little town, they must beat their spears into pruning-hooks, and undertake together the culture of the vineyard in which they are placed. Then there are the school teachers who will, with a little encouragement and direction, nearly always be found ready to work for the enlargement of life among their constituents.

Every Chautauqua circle or reading club of any sort ought to take on a missionary function, ought to feel itself called to an apostleship. Here, too, is a vision of light and hope for those young women, rather numerous in these days, who have been off to college, have drunk the inspiration of college life, and then have returned to their quiet homes with little or no prospect of the interesting, useful life upon which they see their classmates entering, in college settlements, college extension, working girls' clubs, and all the other new kinds of social undertakings. These persons, as leaders, would organize the better element of the village for the work they seemed most capable of and which the conditions would most easily allow. This for the regular working staff of the neighborhood guild. Then visitors could come for a while, as they do at the college settlements, and assist along the lines of their particular talents. Even the summer boarder could be turned to account and be kept from being merely a means of demoralization. As for the expense of whatever is undertaken, that would not be great to begin with, and ought to be met without difficulty by the village people. As soon as the guild has developed sufficiently to undertake some considerable enterprise, those who have gone away from the village to the city, and have become prosperous, should be laid under contribution.

About the first thing for the neighborhood guild to do is to

organize some sort of a club among the boys and young men who hang about aimlessly in the evening. A room might be taken over one of the village stores, supplied with books and papers, and kept open on certain evenings for all who wished to come, both men and women, and on certain evenings for regular meetings of the club. A dozen things might be done to keep the club going. Tournaments with various games, debates, story-telling, old-fashioned literary society meetings, singing classes, instruction in instrumental music for those who aspire to be members of the village band, military drill, dramatic clubs, and in fact anything that would catch the interest of the members and hold them together and prepare them to be interested in something better. So much for a beginning.

There might soon be arranged, under the auspices of the club and in its hall, a series of lectures and entertainments. The difficulty here would be, in the majority of villages, that the expense would be too great, but I believe the time is coming when this difficulty will not hold. In the first place, a great deal could be made of home talent. Even crude attempts on the part of the residents in the village to entertain their neighbors would be far more highly appreciated than the more ambitious efforts of imported talent; but as to lecturers, singers, and musicians to be secured from out of town, there are more and more people who are willing to give their services outright, or at very moderate rates, for the sake of entertaining and instructing others. An organized neighborhood guild, working solely in the interest of the village with no ulterior motive, could with good right ask the services of thoroughly capable persons in connection with such a course. I heard awhile ago that one of our leading college presidents, whom perhaps I had better not name, said that wherever in the United States a goodly company of people wanted him to come and address them, he felt it his

duty and privilege to go, simply on condition of having his expenses paid. There are many people like him nowadays, and it would be one use of neighborhood guilds to make this sort of service more and more a common and understood thing.

Most useful work could be done in the study of every-day applied science. A women's meeting could be held occasionally at the club-room, and under the direction of a suitable leader would easily become interested in the study of domestic economy — the kitchen, the household, and the nursery. Corresponding groups of men could be formed for the study of agricultural science. It is well known in our days that the only farmer who succeeds is the one who puts brains into farming, and an undertaking like this would be sure to be supported. It could enlarge its opportunities and usefulness by being a branch of the County Farmers' Institute, and could make a point of keeping on file the publications of the State and the National agricultural bureaus.

Then there is the question of rural economics, which has of late come so much to the front. There are few places where men could not be brought together occasionally to discuss the economic conditions under which farming in these days is done. Out of such a group there might come a village board of trade which would give every encouragement to farmers in trying new experiments, and should attempt to secure the introduction of new industries into the village life. The study of village politics can be made a matter of real interest; and the better element of the town could be organized to secure good roads, which are so necessary to the life of a progressive village; a town water-supply, wherever that is expedient; as well as various other undertakings in the line of municipal action for the improvement of the common life of the village.

What an opportunity there is in our country villages to

discover to people the undiscovered world of nature! I lived for a short time in one of the beautiful intervales which run between the outer peaks of the White Mountains, where almost every day has its own particular glory; and yet there were very few people who had at all caught the spirit of the mountains. A village guild ought to be under a sort of knightly pledge to bring into the life of the village whatever there is of beauty in the landscape that surrounds it. By this I refer to the purely æsthetic study of nature. The scientific study of nature, with its materials everywhere ready to the hand of the country boy, is another almost untouched opportunity. Nature, as Stopford Brooke has well said, is the great inspirer of curiosity. Every turn of nature incites the active mind to ask "Why?" This most splendid of all scientific laboratories is accessible to the village guild more readily than to any other sort of educational institution. All of these things will soon necessitate a library, and a very useful library can soon be got together by the regular addition of a few books every year. Nearly every town in Massachusetts has a public library. Some day I hope the public library will be as essential a feature of village life as the village constable. After public libraries are in the villages, we shall want public art galleries. In these days, through the beautiful prints, both black-and-white and colored, which are now produced, the world's best art is beginning to be accessible everywhere. The first step toward the future art gallery would be to see to it that the walls of the guild room were adorned with pictures that were really artistic and inspiring. The village schoolhouse might well serve as the second section of the village art gallery.

A village guild must be absolutely democratic. It must be so democratic that it will take special pains to go out to meet those people who live off by themselves, who have been shunned and neglected. It must attack the problem of the

country slums, for every village has a certain section which is in the way of becoming a slum. It must bring social classes together, for there are social classes even in the country village. It must set out in some way or other to bring every one in the village into the healthful stream of the common life. Under this sort of treatment, the narrowness, penuriousness, envy, and tale-bearing, which make country life so often shrunken and embittered, would soon find themselves displaced by the expulsive power of a new affection.

I said in the beginning that there was prospect of a renaissance of village life. The desertion of the city for the country for longer and longer periods during the summer is bringing people back again under the charm of nature. Farm industry is coming to have more of the scientific interest which other sorts of industry have. The economic conditions of the farmer's life are at present bad, but this state of things cannot possibly last. Already there is an increase in manufacturing in rural districts, particularly where water-power can be combined with electricity. Electricity is the wizard power which holds within itself the possibility of a profound reorganization of industrial and social life. The steam engine brought in the factory system and the great congested city. The electric engine may, and many electricians believe it will, break up or at least greatly modify the factory system. The easy transfer of force from place to place both for manufacturing and transportation, through electricity, will relieve the necessity of having workmen crowded together in single great establishments, will allow them again to come and go each day in a smokeless atmosphere, with a view of nature all about them, and in sight of the eastern and western sky. We may then have again, as in the Middle Ages, workingmen who will be artists and poets.

VI

CITY HINTS FOR TOWN PROGRESS[1]

When a growing town becomes a city, most of the new city's public business is simply an inheritance from the town government. Whether in town or city, good order must be kept, health and property must be protected, and there must be adequate training for the future sovereign citizen.

But there are certain public ventures which the budding metropolis must make simply because it is a city, and its people live in rows of houses rather than upon their village acres. In a small community, each householder provides his own water-supply, and has a system of his own for the disposal of household waste. But as homes begin to be built very near together, the ordinary sources underground are no longer sufficient to supply a well for each house. Besides, the danger of contamination grows greater and greater. It is necessary then to discover some unfailing and ample source of supply and to conduct the water, pure and abundant, to the house of each citizen. The nearness of dwellings to one another also quickly makes the private and near-by disposal of sewage a public menace. The new municipality is compelled to contrive a system which shall provide every household with a sanitary form of outlet into a general sewerage system. A city, if by some X-ray process it could be seen from beneath, would have for its prominent feature an intricate coil of pipes of various sizes reaching out in every direction, running at last into two or more very large pipes which on one side climb the slopes of the nearest hills and sink to the level of a river or the sea on the other.

In the city there is always a large number of people going

[1] 1899.

and coming the same way at the same time. This makes it necessary to provide a kind of street and sidewalk which will always be in easily passable condition, and can be kept reasonably free of dust, mud, or snow, according to season and weather. The construction and care of streets is a rural as well as an urban duty, but the full responsibility of a city for its streets is so complex and covers such vast distances and acreage that the street department is quite as distinctive of city administration as the water or sewer systems.

The same thing is indeed true of the police board, the fire department, the board of health, and the public schools. These all in the full-grown city are as different from their former estate as is the great department store from its prototype of the country four-corners.

There is a final step which marks the completion of the change from town to city. The city finds that it must provide at accessible points public breathing-places for the mass of people living in the city-dwellers' huddled state. The "lungs of London," in the first instance royal pleasure gardens, stand for the royal estate of the democracy; and in every civilized city of any size the parks are among the real sources of public health and objects of public pride.

The great developments which have taken place in city government have made clear the fact that the administration of cities is a science about which our knowledge must constantly grow and our methods constantly improve. This spirit of sound and rational progress is going by a sort of contagion into communities which have not yet risen and may never rise to city dignities and responsibilities. Towns and villages do not feel the spur of actual physical necessity driving them to introduce city improvements, but in these days of rapid developments every little community is compelled to choose between enterprising progress or indifference and decay. In order to advance, instead of falling back,

a town must make its all-round existence convenient and comfortable. It must strive gradually to introduce the best means of civilization, so as to have the life of the townspeople more interesting as well as more healthful. It must adopt means for improving and stimulating its less progressive citizens, while introducing advantages and opportunities such as will attach its best citizens permanently to it and even induce other such to come and make the town their abode. Many a small place which perhaps has no chance of growing into a city, as some rival may be doing, can possibly outstrip its rival as a place of residence and for many of the human purposes of life, by gradually introducing city advantages not accompanied by the crowding and rush of urban existence.

Enterprising towns and villages are taking a leaf out of the book of city progress in the establishment of a public water-supply. Many places are small because they are situated in a hilly or mountainous region. One compensation which they can easily have is an abundant public supply of spring water got by running a brook into a simply constructed reservoir. In flat country, such as the Western prairies, artesian wells and standpipes must be resorted to.

One of the most astonishing achievements of science during the past dozen years has been the discovery that contaminated river water may be made, to all intents and purposes, absolutely pure by means of sand filters laid out in large plots through which the water makes its way. By this comparatively inexpensive process, towns along thickly inhabited river-banks can avail themselves freely of the river supply without the least shadow of danger.

A well-known college president discovered upon taking up his duties at the beginning of his administration that the thing most immediately important to the college, as well as to the town in which it is situated, was a general water-sup-

ply. In a few weeks he found himself chief executive of a newly organized water company, as well as of an academical institution. With the water-supply once in full operation, he quickly found that his work of city building was only begun. City privileges involve city responsibilities. A water system has its necessary complement in a sewer system. So the new college president was again compelled to postpone questions of instruction and discipline until he had worked out the problem of a scientific and sanitary system of sewers. This well-organized foundation of good physical conditions has had much to do with a splendid era of progress into which the college soon entered.

In the proper lighting of streets many towns and villages are quite abreast of most cities. In prosperous suburbs it is often found that there is no private company available to supply light by electricity, and the town administration itself enters upon the business of manufacturing electric light. The use of such lighting facilities by private citizens for their houses often enables the town to make this a money-making enterprise. In some towns electric light is produced at the waterworks, either by water-power or by the steam-power which is used to pump water up into the reservoir. There are other instances when a manufacturer, wishing to have electric light for use in his own buildings, installs a large plant, and supplies the streets and houses of the town as well.

In a mountain village in New Hampshire the introduction of a general water-supply has been followed by the establishment of an electric-lighting system. In this small community, the presence of two of the most important of city advantages gives a certain dignity to the life of the town, and is partly the cause, even if chiefly the result, of a peculiarly intelligent and high-toned village life.

Easy intercommunication is something hardly less to be

desired in the country than in the city. Good streets and sidewalks throughout a town, and good roads from town to town, are a most important means of civilization. City standards in this respect are becoming established in an increasing number of towns and villages. In one case a rather listless country town in Ohio made the beginning of an entirely new public life by laying a flagstone sidewalk from end to end of its two cross-streets. This town soon afterwards established an electric-lighting plant. Quite recently it has become the pivot of an electric street-railway line connecting it with two small but busy cities each six or seven miles away. In this case the public water-supply has not yet come, but the subject is much discussed, and no doubt a reservoir will ere long be constructed to gather in the water of the small streams in the neighboring hills. This town between the two enterprising little cities, rising to the stimulus which they supply, fairly sets forth the moral of the present paper.

The gradual spread of a network of electric railway lines, covering a wider and wider circle about all our cities, is bringing many towns and villages within reach of many of the intellectual and social privileges which can be had only at the center of a large city, such as music, the drama, and other forms of popular education and recreation. In this the city is found actually reaching out its arms and bringing the people of the towns to its opportunities.

But the electric lines yield an even greater benefit by bringing the individual towns nearer together and thus quickening the life of each town at its center. In fact many far-sighted students of municipal science believe that the day is not distant when electricity carrying freight as well as passengers, and providing the easy transfer of power for small manufacturing, will effectually break up and scatter the great city into a vast cluster of thriving towns loosely

held to each other, and each bound to the metropolitan center where would be the great emporiums of trade and temples of amusement.

Occasionally a country town or a railroad junction is found bravely playing the part of metropolitan center to the villages around it, not only in presenting attractive stores, but in supplying opportunities in the way of plays, lectures, and concerts. In one such town in Vermont there is given each spring a musical festival lasting for several days. The music is of a high order. The chorus is made up of the best voices from all the region thereabout, and the enterprise is loyally supported by people coming from a large number of towns.

One of the immediate results of such intercommunication is the effort on the part of the different towns to improve the appearance of their streets and other public places. Towns and villages do not need parks as "lungs," but they need quite as much as cities to make special provision, by means of "commons" and by a liberal planting of trees through their streets, to increase the beauty and attractiveness of the town as a place of abode and as an interesting destination for the ever-increasing travel of people seeking a summer day's outing on the electric cars. Such praiseworthy effort, as well as the spread of clean-street teaching to the towns, is owing in many places to village improvement societies. These societies are an embodiment of that sort of public spirit which has become so marked a characteristic of the cultivated life of all our cities.

It is almost a truism that the progress of a city depends upon the intelligence and enterprise which its citizens throw into the work-a-day occupations of life. The two qualities which mark the successful city man are a high degree of ingenuity, and, what is still more important, the capacity for working cheerfully with others toward results which are im-

possible to the individual working by himself. The industrial and commercial lesson of the great city to the town and village is: apply the best scientific training to agriculture and small manufacturing, and combine in various ways so as to secure the economies of large-scale production. There ought to be in every small community a group of men answering to a board of trade, who should constantly examine into the methods of local farmers and manufacturers, encourage the raising of new crops and the making of new products; secure the best transportation facilities and the most profitable markets; offer special inducements to resourceful newcomers: and in general constitute themselves the promoters of a kind of town trust. This is the method by which wide-awake new cities grow, and it can easily be adapted to the situation in smaller places.

A corresponding board of women is needed to bring to bear upon home life the truly remarkable amount of new knowledge which has to do with the relative nourishing value of foods, the science of cookery, the sanitary care of the home, and the revival of household arts and crafts. The school of agriculture at Cornell University is now sending out extremely suggestive leaflets in which the entire business of housekeeping is being practically illuminated by the results of scientific discovery. Documents like these would furnish good campaign literature for such a women's board. The women of the old town of Deerfield, Massachusetts, are giving a striking object lesson as to the development of a number of interesting home industries which give great pleasure and at the same time serve to supplement meager family incomes.

These two boards would at once set about to learn the value of coöperation in connection with kinds of production that are most common in the town. The coöperative creamery, manufacturing and marketing butter for the farmers on

the trust plan, is coming to be a recognized institution of the progressive country town. In many thriving villages, the canning factory serves a similar purpose for corn and other farm crops. The Deerfield industries find their market by organized collective effort.

A very important secret of all city progress is that of making investments which in the nature of the case cannot be expected to pay until years have elapsed. The city of Glasgow, Scotland, furnishes a most impressive instance. The Clyde a century ago was a narrow, muddy little stream which could easily be forded. By taking thought and running risks the sturdy citizens of Glasgow have made their little river into a harbor for the greatest ships in the world. Town and village resources are small; nevertheless the town, no less than the city, must be prepared to cast its bread upon the waters. The business growth of small places demands it; but the principle is especially sound and urgent in matters of education.

Both in public and private ways all our cities are expending enormous and increasing sums of money for the promotion of this human interest among the mass of their population. New enthusiasm is rising among the teachers, and many old-time methods are being completely laid aside. Educational improvement is more and more in the hands of men bringing to their work the same grade of capacity and training that is expected of the eminent surgical specialist or the mechanical engineer in charge of a great railroad system. The strong tendency in all city schools now is toward the instruction and training of boys and girls in those practical matters of handicraft and housekeeping which will serve directly to prepare them for the solid realities of their lives. Town and village schools must begin to follow this example, making the boy's or girl's probable future work in the world set the keynote as to what his or her preparation for the

world shall be. A generation of village boys led into the fascinating field afforded by the new scientific aspects of agriculture and manufacture with particular reference to local crops and products; a generation of village girls trained in the simple results of modern knowledge as to living conditions in the home, as to food, clothing, ventilation, heating, the care of children and of the sick, — would effectually revolutionize village life, and would make a profound contribution to the welfare and prosperity of the Nation.

VII

SOCIAL WORK: A NEW PROFESSION [1]

Two things the educated man wishes to be sure of in deciding his life-work — he wishes to fill the place to which his particular talents are adapted; he desires to touch and affect what is vital in the life of his times. Let us consider first the particular nature of the demand which the times make upon one.

It is a truism that it is much easier to write the history of any past era than of the present. It is in particular much easier to sum up the ethical meaning of a situation in the past than of one which is now in process of solution.

What is it to-day to be a patriot? Being a patriot, to one's subconscious, if not to one's conscious, thought, is being like those pictures of John Hancock and Sam Adams which we found in our earliest historical textbooks. The atmosphere of patriotism is that which we inhaled as we listened to others or ourselves declaim the sentiments of the eighteenth-century fathers of our country.

It is one of the most convincing lessons of history that these very patriots were patriots only through a great summoning of themselves so as to grasp with the moral imagination the immediate and prospective bearing of the facts which actually confronted them. The men of that time whose lives lacked the full sense of urgency, those who possessed cultivation and acquired wealth, were in their turn quite content with the conceptions of public duty which came to them from the great figures of their past, the men of

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seventeenth-century Puritan days. As the American Revolution came on — a great struggle which was an inevitable historical development, and must have been fought out on the soil of the mother country had it not arisen in the colonies — all the first citizens of Boston, with the exception of John Hancock, and most of the first citizens of New York, were completely bewildered and baffled by the then present crisis, and could find no other recourse but to turn Tory and establish themselves in the Canadian provinces or return to England.

A certain analogy to this situation is found in connection with the French Revolution. Among the members of the French court were some of the most cultivated people the world has ever known. Part of their intellectual pastime was the dainty discussion of the very philosophy which was at the root of the discontent with the old régime, and they continued delicately bandying about its motives up to the very moment when the mob was at the Bastille, at the news of whose fall Charles James Fox cried out in the House of Commons: "How much is this the greatest event in history, and how much the best!"

How can one be satisfied, then, that one is not going to miss the whole point so far as the realities of the world of one's own day are concerned? To have had elaborate educational privileges, it would appear, gives no certain assurance on this point. The one indispensable way in which to understand contemporary history is to understand contemporary people. If the first citizens of Boston in Revolutionary days had been more in contact with the sturdy mechanics of the town and the yeoman farmers of the country roundabout, they might have appreciated much more correctly the meaning of the situation which challenged them. If the cultivated members of the French court had carried their interest in philosophical discussion to the point of finding out what it

came to in the minds of the thoughtful middle classes or even in the passions of the workmen, they might have added to all their other knowledge a better proportioned stock of the most important knowledge of all.

If you will pardon a personal experience or two, I can illustrate more fully. A few years ago there was an exhibition in Boston of a remarkable collection of pictures. This exhibition was very largely attended, and as on Sunday afternoons there was no charge for admission, not only a large number, but a great variety of people attended. I had already seen the pictures on a week-day afternoon, but went on Sunday afternoon for the sake of seeing the combination of people and pictures. It happened fortunately that I knew personally many representative types of persons among the spectators. I talked about the pictures with the following: 1. The caretaker of the collection, a man who, with no particular training, has become the one person who is always sought for just this responsible task, and who has incidentally come to have a sagacious sense as to the merit of pictures. 2. A plain-clothes detective, a rough-and-ready sort of a man, whom I had known in connection with his varied services in the police department. 3. A young mechanic who belonged to the classes at the Prospect Union. 4. A group of shop-girls. 5. The proprietor of a large downtown store. 6. Several artists. 7. Several owners of pictures who had loaned them for the collection. I found, of course, that I learned a great deal more about the pictures on my second visit than I could by any chance have gained upon my first visit.

Again, there was a few years ago a long and stubborn strike in a shoe-manufacturing town in eastern Massachusetts. Among others, I was asked to go to this town and see whether I could get any light upon the situation. Here was a problem which, in order to be understood in the least, must be seen from the point of view of a variety of people. I had

to see: 1. Several Protestant ministers. 2. The Irish Catholic and the French Catholic priests. 3. Employers and their representatives. 4. Shop foremen. 5. Storekeepers. The day ended with a conference in a tenement house with six or eight men and women, representing the strikers.

The new type of effort called social work gets its distinctive quality in seeking first to understand, and secondly to affect the problems of the community by means of direct contact with all sorts and conditions of men. Government, we now know, is not a tradition, but a science, which must rely not only upon principles that were once derived from living facts in the past, and remain applicable in so far as these facts continue to be living, but upon principles got by actual wrestling with many new situations. That type of government which subsists entirely or largely upon traditions of the past is naturally much more concerned with the methods of government than with its aims. As the coördination of government with the developing needs of the people is imperfect and incomplete, the mere technical efficiency of administration is highly emphasized, while conditions among the people become such as to corrupt good government at its source. It goes without saying also that a government whose vision is fixed on the past is doing little to anticipate the rising issues or to be in a state of preparedness for new needs in the life of the people. In a community whose public standards become thus belated, the same lack of vitality also affects its private and voluntary collective life. The institutions of industry and culture, enormously progressive as they may be within certain lines, and perhaps on account of that very progress, come to have but a partial and ineffectual grasp upon what is in the last analysis the only issue, the properly proportioned and distributed welfare of the entire community.

The new social work profession has for its object to restore

to its true place in the fields of politics, industry, and culture this end and aim of all things in the life we are now living.

In the effort to make *rapprochement* with things as they now are, there are two great social forces to be understood and at first hand grappled with — democracy and cosmopolitanism. It is probable that the knowledge of these forces to which we have as yet attained is in the relation which the prelude bears to the play. Their great developments lie not in the past, but in the present and in the future. They must be studied on the move. The old way of seeing a boat-race was to sit still and see the race disappear in the distance. The new way is to see it by racing with it. That is the only way in which the swift and sudden movement of these social forces can be estimated and affected.

For the future, democracy involves a larger degree of public service, such as to meet new and pressing common needs. It holds to the principle of equal opportunity to all for the proper development of the physical and spiritual powers. It is moving toward a more highly organized and more productive type of industry. Social work stands for an effort on the part of those who represent some type of privilege or resource to study, and in experimental ways to serve, the human needs and desires which are the urgent forces back of this great tendency. It aims to bring together people belonging to separated classes, and for certain purposes to organize little groups or societies in which the resources of life shall be in wider commonalty spread. It means through such experiments to lead the way toward a further and broader adjustment with the life of the people; toward mutualization, so to speak, on the part, not only of the government, but of the university and the industrial corporation. Its endeavor at every point is to train the people to trust the expert; but it stands distinctly for the principle that in most cases, to say the least, the expert must be such in the appli-

cation of his knowledge and capacity to the precise needs of the total constituency in whose behoof the knowledge and capacity exists. It is because so many experts know little or nothing as to the life of the masses of people that the people reject them, choosing rather from among their own number those who have this, to them, more important branch of expertness.

As to cosmopolitanism, — in this country that problem of the contact and conflict of racial types which faces other nations from without, we have nearly everywhere within arm's length. The cautions which have been suggested with regard to overreachings on the part of such noble national traditions as our own become tenfold more forcible when we have to do with the conglomerate social impulse of people who, as a rule, by the very fact of their presence here, show that they have been under government encrusted with age-long despotism, inefficiency, corruption. It is their Nemesis that they bring with them some seeds of this contagion, coming to our shores with little or no training in constructive citizenship, largely lacking even in elementary education, and having an economic standard that for the time, at least, threatens the welfare of our working classes. The social worker undertakes to see that these strangers, when they arrive, are not met only by the most degrading influences in our civilization, but come in touch, as soon as possible, with what is uplifting in citizenship, in education, and in industry. He lays increasing stress upon getting these new members of the community established upon an economic basis of self-respect, not only for their own sakes, but because American patriotism has to do essentially, not only with certain great political ideas, but with an advanced type of material welfare.

The social worker in this connection applies the results of his study and travel toward bringing to light all the best

characteristic traits and intellectual inheritances of people representing the different nationalities and races. By recognizing and protecting these qualities, he is able to help the immigrant in making the proper relation between the old life and the new, and to encourage him in holding his family loyally together through the anxious time when the children are going so eagerly into all the life of the new and strange country. The result of such effort is what in the aggregate will make a contribution of the greatest importance to the variety and resource of our future national life. Politically America is a federal union. In its racial character and its type of civilization in general it must be that also. Social work has to do with the building-up of a natural federation among all our different racial groups, which will in reasonable degree preserve all that is valuable in the heredity and traditions of each type, but will link all types together into a universal yet coherent and distinctively American nationality.

The social worker thus serves to unite the now scattered industrial, racial, and religious elements that are thrown together to make up the population particularly of our great city communities. He establishes bits of neutral territory where the descendant of the Puritans may meet the chosen leaders among the immigrants from Italy, Russia, and the Levant; where the capitalist may meet the trade-unionist; where the scholar may meet the ingenious, practical mechanic, or perhaps the philosopher or poet of the people; where the Protestant may meet the Catholic; where the Christian may meet the Jew; and where all can, by establishing friendly relations, aside from and in advance of the conflicts of social sectionalism, come to consider their common interests with regard to particular steps in political development, industrial progress, or the betterment of family life and neighborly intercourse. No mistake can be greater than

to think that social work has to do merely with sporadic labors of compassion, with the drudgery of endeavoring to uplift a few individuals only out of the hopeless social residuum, while the great collective forces continue all undisturbed to develop, directly or as by-products, their train of social evils. It has taken a considerable part in the noteworthy developments of city government toward improving social conditions among the mass of city population. It is leading in a marked way toward the development of additional opportunities of training, academic, industrial, and physical, for the eighty or ninety per cent of our children whose education ends with the grammar school. It has been, and is, taking an active share in the large and growing movement both among workmen and employers and among the general public for the improvement of all the conditions of labor. There is no person who has a greater task upon his hands than the social worker, who touches more sides of life and finds himself in coöperation with a greater variety of people representing all classes in the community.

Social work is in its intention, and to an increasing degree in its results, in the nature of unofficial statesmanship. Here lies the real force of its claim upon the university man. We are told from time to time by some of our foremost public teachers and leaders that under existing conditions politics is to the educated man a duty, but can hardly be a career. We are told that it is incumbent upon every man to give some portion of his time to serving the best needs of the public administration, but that so long as there is so much corruption in politics the man who, not having ample private means, enters a political career, involves himself in the risk of having to choose between his honor and a proper living for himself and his children; a risk which the young man is explicitly advised not to take. That the political career of a man without independent means does involve a

possibility of this alternative is undoubtedly true, but that for the sake of serving his country, particularly at the present crisis, when it is admitted to be thus seriously threatened by internal foes, a patriot should not be willing to confront such a choice is certainly a new and strange sort of ethical doctrine. It scarcely harmonizes with the sentiments of men who have pledged their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor to their country in its need; of women who at one time or another faced every privation to urge their husbands and brothers into their country's defense; of sons and daughters who rejoiced in hampered lives and restricted careers on account of the names they bore. Without warrant in the past, such teaching falls sadly short of the demands as well as of the actual working motives of the present.

This new type of effort stands for the fact that in times of peace the same high patriotic devotion may be as absolutely required as in times of war. It calls upon young men to enter upon a definite and absorbing career of public service at those points where the public need is greatest. It opens the way in some cases to political action and to public office. It brings men into a political activity of that sort which has to do, not only with correcting the technique of government in our cities, but with humanizing them through causing them more largely to meet great collective human needs. Aside from direct contact with the government, it undertakes more and more to build up, first in local units, and then in larger federations, a kind of moral municipality and commonwealth, including all existing organizations and institutions that advance the general good, and such new enterprises as rapidly developing conditions require.

The social work profession thus provides a distinct and inviting opportunity for those university men who feel the moral attraction of public service, but have thought that conditions being as they are, the door of such opportunity is

closed. Here it is possible for such a man to lay out before himself a continuous, consecutive career, in which may be included public office so far and so long as political and ethical conditions allow; active political effort in support of good administrative policies and in opposition to bad; the development under private auspices of experiments toward social betterment which may in due time prove worthy of being made part of the public administration; the strengthening of old and the creation of new organizations designed to render the fundamental service of elevating the electorate, and so making possible through an improved citizenship entirely new standards of public administrative rectitude and efficiency. Let no man feel, therefore, that there is anything other than a wide-open opportunity for his entering permanently into what is essentially, and even, to a considerable extent, technically, the work of the public administration of the community.

Social work within its wide scope includes the extension of all the older callings so as to meet new and pressing needs. The university settlement, located in the midst of a vast congested area of the great city, has been likened to the monastery of the Middle Ages, which centered in itself resources for every sort of productive human service. One social worker is primarily a doctor, another a lawyer, another a teacher, another a clergyman, another an artist, another a musician, another a business man, another a sanitary expert, another a politician. The only common requisites for all are human feeling, a sense of humor, and the spirit of moral adventure. In all these spheres of work the effort is not only to push out into new territory, and to bring the best training and capacity to bear upon the needs which exist among new constituencies of those who cannot seek out and command such high-grade service, but definitely to create new agencies, new institutions, new laws, which will in large ways ac-

tually shut off at their source the influences which produce great social miseries and iniquities. In social work the lawyer not only defends the victim of injustice, but classifies the forms of injustice which he sees about him and undertakes by appealing in one form or other to the public administration, to reduce or even abolish whole types of injustice. The doctor endeavors to provide better care in cases of illness, but is more intent upon general sanitary inspection, upon training in cookery and instruction in personal hygiene: upon the establishment of public baths, playgrounds, and gymnasiums, so as to make it more possible for the masses of children in crowded districts to grow up into healthy adult life. The teacher, while striving to secure for the people some increase of general educational opportunity, is more concerned about such industrial training as will definitely equip them for real demands of life, and strives to overcome those economic handicaps which often prevent children of talent, or even of genius, among the working classes from realizing upon their capacities. The moral leader, perceiving that the sort of guidance and inspiration which might serve among the well-to-do has only a partial appeal where there are so many adverse moral conditions, finds himself giving a large part of his time to organizations for clearing the way for the new generation, so that the hard environment can no longer so greatly restrict the free outgrowth of the spiritual nature. The business man, realizing that it is his function to provision the community, endeavors so far as may be to outdo and have done with charity, providing good housing and good food upon the most reasonable business terms, organizing thrift, seeking to better the means by which employment is found, and initiating experiments toward improving the conditions under which labor is done and raising the standard of wages.

The field of effort opened by social work offers peculiar

opportunities to women, some of whom have attained the highest distinction in it. To a large extent it is a perfectly natural extension of the interests and duties of the woman in her own home and in normal neighborhood society. It may be said that this type of activity affords women the same opportunity for preëminence as does the writing of fiction and the stage, because in the same way it opens up to them an enlarged perspective of their hereditary and accustomed concerns. In undertaking to reëstablish healthful home conditions and neighborhood relations in communities where these fundamental social units have become disintegrated, the enlightened woman is simply making new and large adaptations of the specialized capacities which she has by nature and by training. Whatever may be said about the propriety of women's entering the regular professions and public life, and of the possibility of their developing their best capacities and achieving the highest order of success in such callings, social work has provided for them a direct avenue through which by successive and inevitable steps they have permanently and indisputably expanded the scope and deepened the value of home and neighborhood reconstruction so as to make it a genuine semi-public or even public service. In those opportunities of social work which deal with public education, the improvement of industrial conditions and the better administration of social service departments of city government — here also women are drawing deeply and with abundant good results upon interests and capacities which in earlier days found their fulfillment only in the rearing of the family, in carrying on a variety of domestic industries, and in the ordering of the material conditions and the internal and external human relations involved in the life of the household.

Not the least interesting aspect of the social work profession is in its bringing men and women together in a com-

mon work in which their coöperation is based on an unmistakably sound and real type of equality between the sexes. It is clear on the face of it to the men in such a group of workers that the women have a large range of power and a vital authority not based on any theory, but on the facts of the ages, affecting the whole scheme of tasks in hand and the largest that can come from them. On the other hand, the women workers have that first-hand understanding of men in their distinctive activities which comes from working in coördination with them.

Social work is intended to have a peculiar closeness of relation to the historic forces of the present. It deals, however, with advancing historical forces. It is not, indeed, concerned with distant Utopias, but on the other hand it leaves behind the ethical perspective of the past, even of the immediate past, except so far as to preserve respect for yesterday's motive in forming a postulate for the work of to-morrow. The idealism of the social worker is of the opportunist, possibilist type. He seeks to take each successive next step toward a better social order, which he dares to dream of, but does not expect to see let down from the skies. So also the social worker is not primarily a builder of institutions. He seeks first of all to permeate existing institutions with a new spirit, thus gaining for his cause the driving force of the acquired momentum of this existing institutional life. Where suitable organizations do not exist to accomplish results which seem desirable and important, he creates such organizations; but as soon as may be he cuts them adrift, leaving them to go by their inherent forces, and trusting that they will gradually gather for themselves the general support of the conservative elements in the community.

Though specific reference has not been made to the personal opportunity which social work offers one to find the fulfillment of one's particular tastes and capacities, yet the

variety of interest and activity which it includes must have shown that nearly every sort of temperament and intellectual trait could find at one point or other a large and inviting outlet. This field of effort by its broad range offers the young man special chances, in the first place, in the way of discovering what are his real aptitudes. Many men, however long their course of training, do not make this discovery until they have become involved in affairs. Social work represents a kind of practical university, including the application of all sorts of sound training to comparatively new fields of life.

To the man who has become clear as to his own inclinations, there is an early opportunity to specialize and gain new and original results at least on the side of applied science and skill. He can be sure that he will be tilling a fallow field, where his labor in due time will count for large results. Along with ample material for the exercise of the technical sense, there is the constant refreshment that comes of the many-sided contact with previously little-known aspects of human nature.

In many cases the social worker finds himself living in community with practical scholars, which continues for him the sort of inspiration that a man often sadly misses when he leaves the atmosphere of the university to enter upon his working life. There is often also a peculiar happy fellowship between such a worker, attached to one of the regular professions, and many other members of his profession who are following the ordinary and usual lines of their calling, he and they finding that there is much more material for intellectual interchange than if he were not a sort of pioneer at one of the outposts of his profession. Indeed, he contributes for his part not only instructive details as to his professional experiences from day to day, but brings back to the main body of his particular profession new suggestion and stimulus as to

the larger field of service which that profession should render to the community as a whole. It may fairly be said that social work not only offers a special ethical opportunity to the individual, but that it stands for an important group of experiments in vocational ethics, in determining the new and broader lines of social service which the different professions and occupations must be called upon to fill in order to advance the welfare of the Nation and the progress of civilization.

I want just to touch upon the personal economic problem which nearly every man has to face in considering his future career. This type of work had its beginning in England, where there is so strong a tradition as to the dignity of public service that it is almost taken for granted that every man of independent means will devote at least part of his time to the interests of the community. Social work, looked at as not being distinct from public service, has thus drawn in a considerable number of the younger generation of men of this type, some of whom have already entered public office, and have distinguished themselves in municipal councils, in Parliament, and in Colonial administration.

In this country, unfortunately, the tradition as to the dignity of public service has been rather the reverse of that of England, although sentiment on this point is fast changing. But we have a smaller proportion of young men with independent resources, and even in such cases there are very often business responsibilities or family claims, which, in the absence of such a social sentiment as exists in England, in many cases deter these men from giving their time to new forms of social service. The point has already been reached, however, in the development of social work in this country where it is seen that definite financial provision must be made so that as far as possible men who have the inclination and capacity for such work shall not be hindered of their op-

portunity on account of lack of financial resources. It is not to be supposed that the time will ever come when there will be large incomes in the social work profession; but there are already many cases in all our chief cities where incomes are provided which at an average are on a par with those of the clerical and educational professions.

Aside from those who undertake to make a permanent career of such work, much valuable time can be rendered by men who enter it for a time, intending to go into some of the regular professions later on, or by men who enter one of the regular professions, but give a certain amount of their spare time in social work allied to that of their professions. There are sufficient data to prove that these temporary or voluntary social workers not only render valuable service as such, but acquire peculiarly important experience as bearing upon many of the new problems that are pressing upon their professions as a whole. To give a single illustration — a constantly increasing amount of legal practice is concerned with difficulties between employer and employee. There are already men who have attained distinction as lawyers partly on account of their trained ability in handling such questions, and this trained ability is to a considerable extent owing to the practical experience in social work which they had after leaving the law school.

It is, of course, a most vital fact with regard to social work that it had its origin in the universities. It is an old maxim that the courageous man who has two tasks to perform chooses first the more difficult. Some one has well said that it is of the essence of indolence to be industriously doing easy and obvious things while arduous duties go undone. The university never does a higher or more appropriate service than when it takes some great task which seems only like lifting a desperate burden, and illuminates it with interest and hope. Every such achievement marks a new epoch in

the ethical evolution of the human race. Once again by a summons, not of word, but of deed, the university sets forth the sublimest of all ethical conceptions; the life of service — furnishing the utmost fulfillment of human faculty, carrying the self out into the widest and most vital universe — as the one transcendent opportunity. Professor James has suggested that the religious feeling at its best seems to depend upon some sort of fresh ethical discovery. There is a certain recognized spiritual light that lies over all the many different sorts of human effort that make up this present-day historical movement toward a higher social system and a nobler type of personality.

VIII

ETHICAL CONSTRUCTION AS PREPARATION FOR ETHICAL INSTRUCTION [1]

THE mind has its being in the fulfillment of relationships. Mental action, we learn, is never complete without a process of the will confirming the interests which, when carried into action, make the person what he is. Personality is never properly revealed to itself until it is lost in action in the midst of the unexpected contretemps of nature or of human affairs.

Nothing is fully learned until it is conceived affirmatively and as an object of pursuit. The mind is but little shaped and guided except when it is molten and in flux. It is in the field of things craved and striven for instinctively and spontaneously that the educator's best opportunity lies. Hence the rising belief in the distinctly cultural value of vocational studies, a precise reversal of the older theory that little such result could be gained out of studies that called for action.

It is a mistake to endeavor both to arouse and to shape human impulse at the same time and in a single effort. The newly elicited impulse is not sufficiently assertive to bear the pressure of being shaped. It dies down under such an effort. The aversion to ethical instruction is often based on sound natural instinct. The discerning educator will be satisfied for a time to bring to the surface healthy human impulses, and will bide his time about the most effective directing of them. He will apply his efforts for more largely ethical results to those motives in which personality is most alive and alert. He will seek to find human nature out in the

[1] An address before the American Ethical Union, New York, 1907.

open and under full cry before undertaking to lead the way to the quarry.

Such ethical leadership cannot be accomplished at arm's length. It can come about only through participation, and in a real sense absorption, in the momentum of the personality which is to be influenced. Working with people rather than for them is psychological as well as democratic. The currents of their lives must be conceived dynamically and must be actually swung out into. The people must lay hold on truth with power in order to learn at all. Those who would teach the people must know and be in and of that power. A common dynamic basis for personal interests and strivings is essential to that insight and influence which can come at the heart of things.

There is, of course, in every person a large, impenetrable element of temperament, understood often least of all by the person himself, the resultant of age-long heredity; yet a considerable proportion of what usually goes for temperament in every life is found to be not unintelligible to the dynamic participant in that life. When the whole range of personal ties, interests, hopes, achievements, defections is known and felt, a great part of the mystery is dissipated. If the ethical motive is present in the participant, concrete and easily possible steps begin instantly to indicate themselves; and what to the outside and superficial observer is merely an alteration of the environment, is seen by the participant to be the accompaniment and result of effectual growth of character and spirit.

There is thus an essential difference between the two types of social reformers who may seem to be dealing with much the same facts. One is engaged in creating a better framework and scaffolding for a more or less abstract humanity. The other is penetrating at least into the outer entrenchments of personality.

Among these entrenchments of the man's personality, often leading far in toward the citadel of his life, are his home, his neighborhood, his vocation, his recreation, his race, his religion, his citizenship. To shape the issues of his life in these different bearings is to settle almost inevitably how he shall morally confront the world, and is in great part to fix his moral destiny. The building-up through vital participation, step by step, of all-around moralized experience, must be the beginning and end of social service, and must more and more be seen to be the largest element in conscious and determinate moral education.

The fundamental consequence of a moral order in the elementary structure of the home life, as well as the fact that this moral order comes by experience rather than precept, is perhaps sufficiently suggested by the reflection that the religions of the world presuppose it and take it for granted. The principles of Christianity cannot be grasped except as one has been wrought into the fabric of the more intense human groups. The conception of God, and the moral values which go with that conception, can hardly be except as one has the conception of fatherhood; and the family sense comes only through experience. Recently at one of the settlement houses a very bright little girl with keen dramatic instinct could not be induced to act affectionately toward an unusually likable young man who was playing the part of the father. The explanation came out afterward. The little girl's father was a brute, abusing the child and her mother. It would require some unusual circumlocution to arouse in this little girl's mind the thought of the All-Father.

The moral effect of want and congested conditions in weakening the ties of mutual respect and consideration in the family are very great. Francis Place, a man who came to have important political influence in England in the days

of the Reform Bill movement, but in his earlier years had been afflicted with extreme poverty, wrote:

> Nothing conduces so much to the degradation of a man and a woman in the opinion of each other, and of themselves in all respects — but most especially of the woman — than her having to eat and drink, and cook and wash and iron, and transact all her domestic concerns, in the room in which her husband works and in which they sleep.[1]

The moral support and stimulus of neighborhood acquaintance is realized by every one as he goes away to an entirely strange place. The first sense of loneliness outlines itself a little later in the consciousness that some of the most important props to the moral life have been removed, and one's feeling of moral strength is for the time distinctly lowered. This moral situation is one in which many thousands of our city people must exist for long periods, and while thus weakened and exposed many of them inevitably make moral shipwreck of their lives.

In these respects the immigrants, set in families, are actually not so much in peril as that large population, predominantly native, in all our cities which lives in lodgings, where almost the last vestige of home tie and of neighborhood restraint and incentive has disappeared. The moral problem of the thousands of young men and young women engaged in commercial pursuits who lead this detached lodging-house existence is one of constantly increasing seriousness.

The home and the neighborhood is the moral menstruum in which the young life is immersed, and from which it takes its character. When they are seriously disintegrated, whether in outward fact or in sentiment, we are face to face with the most fundamental ethical problem with regard to

[1] Graham Wallas. *Life of Francis Place*, p. 11. New York: Longmans, Green and Co. 1898.

that young life. To keep the child in rightly ordered currents of family and neighborhood intercourse will provide, in innumerable instances, the substantial correction of tendencies which, let alone, make development in character an impossibility. I am not referring now to such outward hygienic conditions as are a minimum essential to his growth into normal physical adult life, but to the accumulated experience of domestic affection and virtue as a part of the very atmosphere of the little social group of which he is a part; experience of personal cleanliness, of thrift, of system and order, of good humor, of good fellowship, of care for the weak and admiration for the strong, of industry and skill, of wholesome and whole-hearted recreation, of loyalty and adoration. Most of these things are learned by the child, and laid hold upon deeply by the man, not as the result of specific instruction, but through the endless ways of concrete suggestion and imitation, and by trying out in social give and take intimations that rise out of the deeper reserves of the subconscious being.

The whole scheme of work for neighborhood improvement in our cities, where the neighborhood social structure and function is to a greater or less extent broken down, has to do with establishing a scientific method for reconstituting the channels of local ethical relationships. This is done largely, it is true, under the initiative of resourceful newcomers into the neighborhood, and through the organization of forms of social life before unknown; but all such work has its vital meaning in the endeavor to secure through a thousand ways of subtle suggestion a revival of moral and moralizing reciprocity between husband and wife, between parents and children, among brothers and sisters, among neighbors and friends.

Every man's personal economic problem for him is inseparable from his problem of duty. His calling in life, his

productive labor, his earnings, his power as a consumer, are matters which not only in their outcome but in their process must decisively and consciously determine much of his moral character. Every turning-point in the course of the workman's life, particularly in these days of highly associated industry, involves critical problems of personal duty; in the breakdown of the old loyalty to the master workman, the confusion as to the possibility of zeal for good work, the maintenance and advancement of the standard of wages and of life, the organization of workmen to protect and enhance their interests in an industrial system where organization is the dominant force, the pervading skepticism as to the justice of the existing economic order and the claim of a great ill-defined, but well-nigh universal, outreaching toward a higher type of industrial civilization. These issues, which may seem to some of us to have to do only with the superficial environment of human life, are for vast numbers of men and women penetrating into the very bones and marrow of their personal being.

Another great element of our people — not so important, perhaps, from the point of view of their influence, but quite as great in number — spend much of the spontaneous, insistent energy of their lives in the search for recreation. To the realistic ethical insight, the popular print, the drama, the concert-hall, the dance, the café, the excursion resort, constitute the matrix in which, for better or worse, the moral life of the future American Nation is in large part taking shape.

The fact that the Nation has had its numerical increase so largely through immigration brings it about that loyalties of race and of religion create among us a variety of special ethical issues whose effect on personal character and moral progress is profound. Bound up with impulses deeply embodied in our different human types, these issues from their very nature must be affected, if affected at all, by the gradual build-

ing-up of ethical reciprocity upon a basis entirely apart from that on which these sides of life rest. The type of agency for social reconstruction which is wholly neutral as to points of conflict between the different races and religions is essential to the creation of such a measure of common national and human consciousness as must lie at the basis of all well-proportioned personal moral growth.

The training of our people, and particularly of the new generation, in the art of making quickly a large number of human adjustments so as to work easily with diverse types of people and groups different in motive and extent, is a kind of moral discipline which refers more particularly than any other to the precise needs of the present day and of the immediate future. If morality has to do with what vitally is and is to be, if its watchword is not constraint but opportunity, if it is to attain the note of adventure, the greatest of all moral sanctions is that which has to do with entering largely and deeply into human association with all its undeveloped, undreamed-of potentialities for the enrichment and expansion of human life, for the fulfillment of all the powers of the human spirit.

IX

PLAN FOR THE BOSTON SOCIAL UNION[1]

THE distinctive nature of the federation should be the coalescence of local forces for the sake of encompassing, in their large aspects for the city as a whole, the problems with which individual settlements are dealing in a sporadic and scattered way. It should project into a general city movement such well-matured knowledge, skill, and resource, growing out of their objective neighborhood experience, as the different local agencies can contribute. It should seek to bring all local agencies up to the best standards that have been attained by any. It would secure its results partly by acting as one general organization, partly through district alliances, acting as units, and partly by inducing each of the different neighborhood centers to carry out certain local plans in concert with all the others throughout the city.

1. Abolition of overlapping and competition on the part of different settlements, where it exists; use of full power of the federation toward providing neglected neighborhoods with settlements or similar agencies.

2. Formation of leagues to include organizations having the same object at the different settlements. Among such leagues would be those for conducting athletic contests, for giving plays, concerts, and dances on a large scale.

3. A clearing-house for such forms of constructive social service throughout the city as are not definitely included in

[1] Paper prepared in 1907 after a South End federation of settlements had been in existence for eight years. The Boston Social Union soon came into being on the general basis thus outlined, and has made steady progress from that time to this. The author has been president of these organizations, with the exception of two years, from the beginning to the present time.

the scope of charity organization, with proper community of interest between the two types of federation.

4. Promotion of various ways of extending the educational service of the community to meet new social needs, including particularly physical and industrial education. Extension of medical inspection and social service in connection with the schools. Bringing about the comprehensive public application of successful private and local experiment in these directions.

5. The giving of picture exhibitions, university extension lectures, dramatic presentations of a high order, and nationality festivals, all designed to appeal to the finer sensibilities of working people in a large and impressive fashion.

6. Organization for the whole city, or for great parts of it, of a programme of tenement-house improvement and general sanitary reform, reënforced constantly by the close-range knowledge of many neighborhood workers in many different neighborhoods. Organization of a movement for instruction and training in practical hygiene and for the dissemination of the best new knowledge about the care of physical and moral health. The organization of a good milk-supply at the different neighborhood centers, at least for the use of infants.

7. Organized and comprehensive coöperation with different departments of the city government — street, health, park, education, police, etc. — particularly by bringing out of daily local experience specific, well-founded criticisms and suggestions leading toward efficient and progressive local municipal service.

8. Specific organization of preventive work for persons showing downward tendencies. Comprehensive coöperation with the probation system. Organization of after-care in cooperation with the juvenile court and correctional institutions.

9. Special forms of social service among discharged patients of hospitals and asylums.

10. Development of large measures for the gradual elimination of the unfit from the poor and crowded neighborhoods of the city, beginning with tramps and drunkards.

11. Systematic and discriminating effort toward properly launching young people on their industrial careers.

12. Exchange of valuable technical information as to successful methods of local work; securing a temporary interchange of experts in different directions.

13. Study of relative values in the net results of settlement work, and of ways of estimating such values financially and otherwise.

14. Development of coöperation and system throughout the city in the matter of local research. Building up a close-range knowledge of the facts, and putting such knowledge together so as to present to citizens generally a new and living conception of the city in its dramatic ensemble.

15. Compilation of social statistics by neighborhoods or precincts. This would make it possible, for instance, to indicate precisely the worst spots in a city from a sanitary or moral point of view. Localized statistics with regard to nationality and industry should be sought for their important bearing on general neighborhood work. The federation should seek to have the tradition established that public bureaus collecting statistical data for the city should in the future present them for small local units.

16. Bringing together people of local importance in different neighborhoods. Developing a realistic city loyalty based on the consciousness of common local needs. Giving large dignity to local social service by massing its results together for effect upon the total welfare of the city. Organizing local sentiment into general sentiment for practical next

steps in political and moral reform, and for the development by the municipality of plans for social betterment.

17. Coöperation with the more responsible labor leaders toward working out a sound programme for the labor movement. Support of well-considered measures for legislation designed to improve industrial conditions.

18. Coöperation with employers in the development of industrial welfare work.

19. Seeking the coöperation of the better sort of practical political leaders in specific programmes of local social betterment; thus gradually turning the accredited leaders of the people, and the people themselves, toward a better local political platform and a larger political motive for the city as a whole.

20. Continuous coöperation with all well-considered efforts toward moral reform.

21. The proper coördination of social service with the life and work of the church in all its branches.

22. Bringing in experts from a distance and giving settlement workers of the city proper opportunity to learn from them at first hand.

23. Establishment of a social service bureau, open daily and nightly, to meet calls from any quarter for assistance or coöperation within the scope of settlement work, to place properly disposed persons in the way of learning about such work, or lending it assistance in any way, and to represent the settlements and their neighborhoods in influencing newspaper and other forms of publicity.

24. Organized efforts to assist in the transfer of families from tenement-house neighborhoods to the suburbs and the country. Improvement of transit facilities.

25. Preparedness for united action of all the settlements in the city for large emergency service.

26. Organizations of campaigns to secure the active in-

terest of the best-equipped young men and young women in settlement work.

27. Organization of the specific experience and instruction needed for the settlement worker; which, for the graduate of a school of philanthropy, would be analogous to the medical graduate's hospital training. Systematic methods for training volunteer workers.

28. Conference among the governing boards and financial supporters of settlements as to the solicitation, expenditure, and accounting of settlement funds.

29. The federation to be loosely organized so as to secure the maximum of solid result with the minimum of institutionalism. Its organization to be of such a nature as to allow freely of quick spontaneous coöperation among individual settlement workers who are accustomed to act together. No settlement in its local work would be in any sense under the control of the federation, with the single exception that all the constituent centers would be expected to coöperate in such an agreement as conditions may call for in order to prevent working at cross-purposes with one another.

30. Organized propaganda of the working principles of the settlement as applied to neighborhood and civic life everywhere.

31. Suggestions out of settlement experience to members of different professions and callings as to ways in which they can make their vocations of larger social service.

32. A traveling fund through which one or more settlement workers should each year be sent on tours for helpful interchange to other cities, their results to be presented in such form as to be of specific use to the home federation.

33. City federation to serve as a nucleus for an organization of workers in settlements, district improvement societies and village improvement societies throughout its State. Alliance with federations in other large cities and among

State federations, as a basis for a National organization of local social workers. Settlement federation developed specifically in its National phase should provide a concrete general movement upon settlement problems in their National bearings, and not merely scattered discussions of individual and local plans.[1]

34. Recognition of the fact that the unit of time in social achievement is not the year, but the decade; formulation of a ten years' programme, focused not so much upon crystallized institutions and vested interests as upon the generally believed-in cause of the physical, vocational, and associational upbringing of the whole of the new generation, which will thus and thus alone become capable of creating the higher democratic order of civilization.

[1] After three informal annual National conferences in pursuance of this suggestion, the National Federation of Settlements was organized in 1911.

X

THE NEIGHBORHOOD AS A RECREATION UNIT [1]

THE original settlements twenty years ago made recreation their chief interest. This was their most open way into the life of their neighborhoods. Their efforts in this direction were naturally superficial from the point of view of a recreation programme; but they did establish the vital principle — too often forgotten in these days of recreation science — that every form of enjoyment can have its best values and standards reënforced by being held in sound relations with the great character-making and character-conserving ties of home and neighborhood.

Soon the settlements were severely challenged. It was held that they were guilty of false pretenses; that they had set out to be a ministry of the solid realities of life, and that, instead, the settlement was merely "a philanthropic picnic in a wilderness of sin." Taking this criticism at its full worth, and perhaps at more than its worth, but not until after gaining much through recreation in the way of moral understanding with its neighbors, the settlement began seriously to turn itself to the stern problem of vocational training. Not much, of course, has been achieved in the building-up of trade education under the roof of the settlement. But there have been throughout the country several hundred groups of trained people living at close range with the families whose children suffer most by our incomplete and impractical system of education. These groups have had much to do with stirring up the great movement all over the coun-

[1] *The Association Seminar*, Y.M.C.A. Training School, Springfield, Mass., March, 1912.

try for the addition of a comprehensive scheme of vocational training to the public school system.

This degree of penetration into the core of the economic problem of life in their neighborhoods next brought settlement workers face to face with all the crude handicaps to physical and moral health under which their neighbors so largely suffer. The great health crusade, which is regarded by sound observers as representing the foremost wave of progress in this country to-day, has an active propaganda center in every settlement house. The eager welcome of medical inspection in the schools on the part of the settlement craft is shown by the fact that its correlative, school nursing, was instituted at their initiative. The thorough guarding of infant life, beginning with prenatal care and reaching to medical inspection in the settlement kindergarten, finds most suggestive illustrations both as to method and as to proved results at some of the older settlement houses.

The specific and determined attack — on the basis of accurate, point-by-point, neighborhood acquaintance with facts — upon the sources of physical and moral degeneracy is to-day one of the new and poignant interests of the settlement. By a strange irony, an enterprise, which started in almost entirely with the light and gay side of neighborhood life, finds itself more and more inextricably involved with the dark problems of disease, drink, and sexual immorality. The settlement nurse, who is distinctively a health scout and an organizer of medical resources, the school visitor, who is a moral school nurse, the voluntary probation officer, the juvenile protective league agent, the after-care visitor from hospital or reformatory — all belong among, or have close relation with, the settlement residents, sharing their knowledge of the moral structure of the neighborhood, its weakness, its recuperative powers.

It is at this point in the evolution of the work of neighborhood study and organization that the settlement, as representing any group of ethically dynamic neighbors, finds itself getting its second wind with the motive of recreation. The growing reach and grasp of public action in the matter of industrial education and in the progressive care of the health of the people has to a considerable degree relaxed the pressure upon the settlements in those directions. In developing both fields of action, the necessity of universal wholesome recreation has been continually driven home; and this lesson is tragically reënforced by all the new work of the settlements in dealing with moral delinquency. On the other hand, the settlement workers have received invaluable training for the more thorough recreative campaign through wrestling with a combined economic and educational problem; and substantial scientific discipline has come to them through contact with the medical profession in connection with their preventive and instructive work in the field of public health. They are thus prepared to take up afresh their recreative programme with far more penetration, comprehensiveness, and determination.

The absorbing appetite of people in these days for reaction in the way of keen and exciting if not strenuous amusement, if it affects even the best-conditioned homes, tends almost to sweep away the home life of tenement-house people. If the boys and girls are thus carried out of their homes in search of recreation, there are two possibilities: one is that they will go out into the irresponsibility and anonymity of the great central amusement resorts of the city or of a large city district; the other is that they shall find the means of well-conducted recreation in the actual local neighborhood in which they live, where they know and are known, and where they continue, while at the recreation center and on the way home, under that restraint and stimulus which

goes with the whole interlacing system of friendly acquaintance in a neighborhood.

This serious alternative is one which vitally complicates that positive spiritual crisis in the lives of adolescents, particularly the girls, when they leave school and go to work. Their suddenly acquired right to go where they please, the making of new and fascinating acquaintances from other parts of the city, the possession of money of their own, all serve to create a kind of intoxication in which old established principles and relationships seriously suffer. As against these tendencies, the bare fact of establishing a varied scheme of sport and amusement in which there are rules and regulations that glorify established loyalties, which is easily within the knowledge of family and friends, means a protective enclosure that is of infinite consequence to our young people. But also such a system, by the fact that it includes a limited number of the same persons continuously, everybody knowing everybody else, gives a medium in which there can be really effective and cumulative educational influence.

Some of the most telling service which is being rendered by the settlements to-day consists in the calculated influence that comes through whole-hearted participation by the residents in the amusements of the young people of their neighborhoods. By entering fully into the game, on the existing terms, even though at first its standards be crude, with neighborhood young people, one comes often to have a marvelous authority as to the whole management and spirit of recreation. Often in this way one can from within make points in character and have them eagerly agreed to, which otherwise would fall on listless ears.

It is also true that once beyond the confines of the neighborhood circle, nearly every one expects to be caught up and carried on the breast of a current of amusement, to pass into

a dangerous state of passive sensationalism. Within the neighborhood circle every one expects to be in some degree a creator. The organization and conduct of recreation, the making of personal and group contributions to the entertainment of one's friends and neighbors, adds a whole new realm of values to the recreative side of life. In many cases a boy first finds himself, as the result of patient preparation for a play and its final performance, in the face and eyes of his family and neighbors. This is one of many instances in which there is a close relation between properly conducted recreation and efforts toward developing the productive initiative of boys in a practical vocational direction. A dance at which some of the parents are present is a means both of confirming and vitalizing neighborhood social and ethical standards.

It has been suggested that there ought to be at the settlements and in less well-to-do neighborhoods — what is a commonplace in the society of the prosperous — a coming-out party for girls. This would serve as an especially significant social occasion to all concerned. It would naturally suggest some serious talk to the débutante as to the meaning of home and marriage, and might come as the culmination of a thorough course in domestic work, including the care of children.

The playground and the gymnasium seem to involve too large an expense, in the cities at least, to justify providing one of each for every crowded neighborhood. Neighborhood ties should, however, be carefully considered in the organization of playgrounds and gymnasium work. This applies particularly to boys and girls under fourteen who often hesitate to go out of their own bailiwick except in the full strength of their gangs. This is, perhaps, a case for the introduction of the federal principle in the management of a large recreative center. In one instance, as a summer pro-

gramme, eight baseball teams of boys from ten to twelve were organized, each team coming from a given block in the same neighborhood. The teams competed in a series of games for a banner. The whole party had frequent club-room meetings together and the season closed with what was called a banquet provided out of dues.

The Boston settlements for many years have conducted an annual series of athletic contests between teams representing the different houses and attended by supporters from each. This gives the advantage of large, impressive occasions, with standards of courtesy and consideration between teams, and brings about a wholesome and valuable kind of acquaintance among boys and young men from different neighborhoods. Similar large-scale results are secured through general dances to which different houses bring representative groups; by stage entertainments to which different houses each contribute a number; by combined summer pageants in the parks; and by general gatherings for the award of honors at the close of the summer gardening season.

One of the most powerful ways in which neighborhood relation reënforces the best influences of recreation, and *vice versa*, is found in the summer camp or other form of country holidays. Here local acquaintance is more strongly cemented and the settlement or other neighborhood worker becomes a peculiarly close friend to the young people. All the new experiences have their setting in common remembrances and common future plans. What is good in those plans is followed out under the momentum of the vacation party loyalty and spirit. In the case of two all-summer outings for boys conducted by settlement houses, the very impressive physical and moral influence on the boys as individuals is associated with the effect on the group as a group. In one case a substantial proportion of the whole

number of boys of their age in the neighborhood are together in the vacation party for the entire season. The effect is a marked change in the total gang spirit of the home neighborhood. Such recreative work actually rears a new type of citizen by setting him into spontaneous and inspiring relations — and not those of a juvenile imitation of politics — with his prospective local fellow citizens.

All these considerations suggest the importance and indeed necessity of some type of strictly neighborhood supervision of commercialized recreation, particularly moving-picture shows and dance halls; as well as of all public enterprise in the way of recreation, including the school center. The results, as measured in the life of the children and young people as they are seen and known in their local neighborhoods, represent the sure and final test of all such undertakings. And in the end it will without doubt be found that those forms of organized recreation must all not only have regard to the inner individual nature of the young person taken by himself and to improvised group activity, but must conserve and treasure the whole subtle tissue of neighborhood ties in which are the very roots of the young person's mental and moral life.

There is, indeed, a certain spiritual kinship between the movement for play and the revival of the neighborhood. The great tradition of spontaneous play goes with the village green. It is the outcropping of a simple common life. Play on the one hand, and this simple nascent form of collective life on the other, are each a means of grace; that is, through them as from above comes into our lives a blessing greater than we can understand. Through both of them the mind and the character achieve a wisdom and power which are beyond the reach of all our analyses and all our methods. If all human activity must find its culmination in play, how much play has to give to, and how much it has to get

from, that fundamental organism of loyalty out of which human nature originally came into being, that first little social universe in which and in which alone the human spirit can, in the full sense, learn to grow!

XI

UNIT ACCOUNTING IN SOCIAL WORK[1]

THE increasing determination with which community problems are being grasped leads social workers to inquire what can be done to give to their efforts that penetrating, protean, assured, exhaustive character which goes with the best developments of modern scientific organization. They feel, in connection with practically all of their problems, the necessity of much more complete and detailed objective information. While they would strongly sustain the tendency toward broad inquiries leading to more intelligent social legislation, State and National, they are to-day rather more concerned about that close-range blending and shading of social fact which points the way to effective social administration.

It is more and more clearly understood that the local neighborhood is the true unit of constructive social effort. In many of our cities the whole variety of social service, whether under public or private auspices, is beginning to be coördinated within each of a number of larger districts. These districts are then, of course, in practice analyzed into many fractional areas according to differences of condition which obtain.

This development, in a wholly practical way, is creating a constantly stronger demand for ordered information as to the cumulation and congestion of human facts and tendencies in these rather minute sub-sections, as the essential preliminary to the development of a strategy which will be able to bring to bear the various kinds, grades, and degrees of social

[1] Address delivered at the annual meeting of the American Statistical Association, Boston, 1912.

resource to bear upon each precise localized plexus of conditions.

The social worker thus begins to look enviously at the very large and exceedingly varied stores of local information which are packed away, unclassified and unavailable, in the storerooms of a long list of public offices, National, State, and city. Their suggestion refers not only to the National census and to State censuses, but to every public department of whatever sort which makes a practice of registering comprehensive information about any specialized phase of the life of the community.

It is understood, of course, that the tabulation by small local areas of all this information would involve a substantial addition to the expenses of all these departments. No doubt the social workers are ill-informed as to the amount of additional work which would be entailed. It is true, however, that such tabulation kept within practical limits could not in any case cost more than a fraction of the original expense of collecting the material; and it is hardly open to question that, in due time, such an additional investment would increase the returns to the community on its statistical investments far out of proportion to its amount.

It is desired that the National census shall give for such small areas the following information: total population by age and sex; number of families; nationality, with length of time in the United States; occupation. It is felt that if the State conducts a census, there should be schedules and local tabulation for the following: parent nativity; tenements, apartments, and lodgings; room density; rents. It is understood that the National census will hereafter include the tabulation of certain population statistics by areas averaging forty acres for seven of the largest cities.

A relatively much smaller expense, with very great results in public and private community service, would come from

the localization of statistics gathered by the various forms of public registration, whether by city or State. The general registration of marriages, births, diseases, and deaths should by all means provide a minutely detailed exposition of these facts, in terms of social geography and classified by age, sex, and nationality, so that the responsible local citizen could trace the currents of life which are so vitally affecting his home and neighborhood. The moral statistics involved in the facts about arrests and convictions for various offenses should be, and easily could be, set over against and charged up to the precise local environment which has so much to do with breeding vice and crime. The same principle should be applied to the records of all institutions for the care of disease and degeneracy, so that specific, identical, provoking causes might be studied and infallibly aimed at by the agencies of localized social service.

The International Congress of Hygiene and Demography, held in Brussels in 1903, reported that "the only means for the Government to acquire precise knowledge of the danger of alcohol and the necessity for energetic measures against it is to organize a great statistical referendum by which the losses due to alcohol should be carefully analyzed." This "great statistical referendum" is what is needed for all the forms of social degeneracy; and the careful analysis of losses must include the itemized charging-up of losses to every small neighborhood, and the tracing of those losses back to causes which will be disclosed by similarly itemized statistics as to the whole range of local social conditions.

It is easy to appreciate the gains that would be made in the more effectual segregation of the unfit, and particularly in dealing with the human and institutional causes of degeneracy, by analytical methods of which modern surgery and modern commercial organization would not be ashamed. As a single instance of how a system of social accounting might

be put into effect, the Police Commissioner of Boston recently conducted an experiment designed to trace cases of drunkenness back to the specific saloons in which the oversupply of liquor was sold. Through inquiries made of each arrested drunkard, he secured damaging information with regard to a large number of saloons, and an overlapping testimony in certain cases which clearly marked out a group of licensees for discipline.

In some cities a complete list of registered polls is made up annually, including all male inhabitants over the age of twenty, their present addresses, their addresses the year before, and their occupations. Some settlement houses have used this list as a very serviceable basis for making up maps showing, by blocks, nationality (through the names) and occupation. A competent handling of this list for the city as a whole would yield substantial suggestion and guidance to the social worker.

The public school administration in many cities conducts an annual census; and as better medical supervision is provided, the authorities come to have in their possession vitally important information as to the number and distribution of undernourished and backward children. So far, instead of being set forth in its localized bearing and expressiveness, this information is jealously guarded from the most responsible social worker.

For certain registered facts it would not be too much to ask that the information should be minute to the point of specifying individual houses — as in the case of arrests and certain diseases, real estate transfers, and changes in assessment. The development of this general method would naturally lead to easy access on the part of properly responsible persons to the last details in the possession of the authorities.

One of the most important results of such a policy in

applied statistics would be the better proportioned and adjusted service of the city departments — sanitary, police, educational — and the more effective distribution of new municipal agencies, such as baths, gymnasiums, playgrounds, and centers for evening recreation and assembly. Progressive philanthropic service would at once find its path greatly cleared and illumined, in such fields as, the systematic care of infant vitality; the coöperation with the public schools, in matters of child health, child morals, and vocational guidance; inspection and regulation of housing; industrial accidents and diseases; local follow-up work after the various forms of institutional care; the movement of population and of industry into and out of local districts; the whole system of preventive and constructive social service, including recreation, education, and religion, as its influences penetrate to the homes of the people.

The full effectiveness of this method will be experienced as, within the given small local unit, one set of facts can be superimposed on another, until the full resultant of conditions is made evident — almost as if the finger of fate were to indicate the status and destiny of that particular spot; and these resultants can be effectively compared from year to year and from decade to decade so as to register unmistakable indications for social statesmanship. The value of this method in measuring and testing many forms of public and private service for the improvement of community conditions is obvious.

Every local office of a charity organization society and every settlement house is to-day the originating center of a guild of neighborhood workers which would eagerly make use of all such dynamic suggestions. The social service commissions which are increasing so rapidly in many of the great branches of the church are making the local community their unit of attack and are placing great emphasis upon

varied and well-coördinated knowledge of the situation. In cities and in villages the local improvement society is steadily coming forward as a broadly established and vitally influential agency, gradually bringing into participation in public affairs the great reserve detachments of our citizenship. In these societies, exact knowledge about recognized, common needs is indispensable, not only to specific achievement, but to the building-up of local loyalty and public spirit. And when representatives of any or all of these forces go before municipal administrators or State legislators, they find them almost pathetically ready to act on the basis of facts which they can put the finger on, and as pathetically weary of reformers who can only utter generalities.

Finally, such exactly pointed information would bring about a much more effective form of coöperation between the different neighborhoods and districts of a city. The kind of interrelated town meeting spirit which made the New England commonwealth — through exact local knowledge and informed local responsibility — is coming into force for the organic reconstruction of our cities; and expressive statistics can do much to promote and sustain the revival. City planning is as yet almost literally in the stage of seeing men as trees walking; the right unit of statistical representation will do much to enable it to see clearly what the city means. The localization of statistics is valuable not merely from the point of view of local social service, important as that is, but it will in many ways clarify and reënforce the meaning of statistics in their broadest application. In fact, this method is suggestive in certain respects of the passage in medical science from the study of symptoms to microscopic bacteriology.

Some years ago a special inquiry into infant mortality in Boston, which went farther than the regular system for reporting such data by wards, disclosed the fact that there

was one ward which had four times as great infant mortality on one side as it had on the other. The usual method, as a means of truthful representation, suggests the grotesque paintings of the Parisian cubists, who undertake to represent every object in the landscape, including the human figure, by structures made up of sizable parallelograms in flat tones. And yet some of the most exquisite engravings are put together on this same principle — the reason for their illuminating, stirring expressiveness is that the squares which are their unit of expression are minute and subtly differentiated.

XII

THE RECOVERY OF THE PARISH [1]

ASSOCIATION is the keynote of modern industry. It is often thought that mechanical invention is the distinguishing characteristic of the factory system. The truth is that associated industry had developed the inventions, organized the teams of workmen that are necessary to operate these collective tools, and opened up the vast market which is necessary to sustain modern industrialism. The dominant power of industrialism is quite properly not the inventor, but the organizer and administrator. He understands the fundamental mystery, that of dovetailing together the work of many different kinds of men. The distinctive principle of production under the factory system is that two men working together can produce more in the total than when working separately. This surplus is sometimes very large. It represents the results of the new increment of power which is being developed in the brain cells of the coöperative type of man. The organization of labor, which by a strange halting of the intellect in the minds of many men who have mastered the principles of association on the employer's side, seems to be a weird, irrational intrusion, is in fact a natural, inevitable outcome of the essential life of the factory system. It is as logical as the factory itself.

Industrial association is peculiarly purposeful. Its whole assembled power is under momentum of action and pointed for results. The struggle of the present age is to make this positiveness ethical, to have it act exclusively toward the fulfillment of life. Meanwhile there are other great spheres

[1] Address before the faculty and students of Andover Theological Seminary, 1912.

of life in which the principle of association has had a much longer and fuller history, which are more ethically motived, sometimes much more, than is factory industry, but which gravely lack the inward energy and the outward enterprise of modern business. These varied fields of human fellowship offer inconceivable possibilities in the way of moral adventure. The spirit of moral adventure is essential in order to irradiate everywhere the whole atmosphere of fellowship and bring it away from mere passive sentimentalism or superrefined gregariousness, out into the light of common convictions won by organized and systematic team play in a common human cause.

Personality in the setting of family and neighborhood ties has always been the fundamental starting-point of Christianity, both in its thought and in its activity. Fatherhood, sonship, brotherhood, neighbor-love, these are the conceptions which are taken for granted and serve forth the essential clues to the fundamental principles of religion. In the specific spiritual service of the Church, the individual is kept always in moral relations with his home and his local community. The parish has been in most periods actually, and in others theoretically, the chosen community unit of every individual body of believers. This start which the local church has in ancient tradition with the local neighborhood constitutes the chief unused asset which the Church has to-day among the agencies of social reform and progress.

There is a serious danger that the rising tide of interest on the part of the Church in social problems will simply lead to vague and scattered efforts in connection with this, that, or the other organized reform. It is quite easy to get into the position of the schoolgirl writing home and underlining every word. The net effect is the same as if there had been no emphasis at all. Indeed, it is quite possible to rouse a great movement for social morality and progress in the

Church which shall after very considerable activity lead to discouragement and reaction.

The true point of attack for the Church is the local neighborhood. This is also where the structural upbuilding of society has to begin. This is the distinctive unit and organ of social reconstruction. The neighborhood is the very pith and core and kernel and marrow of organic democracy. Democracy is a coöperative society made up of people just as they come; and so far as there is democracy, people must be taken precisely that way, *just as they come*. Likewise, in its fundamental meaning, the parish is simply a downright practical contrivance for seeing to it that the gospel is imparted to every creature, taking them all as they come, seeing that none is overlooked, and that none get away from the range of the spiritual power of the gospel.

For the renewed application of the gospel in terms of fully developed, that is social, democracy, the Church has an inconceivably great opportunity in reinterpreting, recapitalizing, and glorifying anew the meaning of every little local community in the midst of which every local church is planted. It is true once again that it is not "lo here, or lo there"; there is a social sense in which the Kingdom of God in its vital and in its revolutionary sense is within you.

Without in the least underestimating any of the other forms of relationship, I do not hesitate to say that a cultivated and developed neighborly acquaintance and neighborly fellowship in action, traversing all the distinctions which keep any kinds of human beings apart, is fundamental and indispensable to every man, woman, and child who would be to-day's kind of patriot and Christian. Nor do I hesitate to say that if the contagion of that sort of local human loyalty and coöperation could lay hold of the Church — as a revival of true and ancient Christianity — the Church, instead of being continually forced into an apologetic attitude

in the face of the general social situation, would soon take the lead of the whole reconstruction process. Dynamic forces would be tapped in this way which would lead to far-reaching and wide-spreading action upon the whole range of social problems. A new statesmanship would be developed out of the organized synthesis of actual experience, from neighborhood to neighborhood, from town to town, from city to city, of the great dominating mass of people of good will from all parties, from all classes, from all races and from all sects.

Neighborhood fellowship, without in the least lowering the value of any special loyalty of culture, tradition, or faith, can penetrate and surround them all as radium can carry its ray through apparently solid objects. This constitutes the marvelous power of the neighborhood idea and its surpassing adaptability to our political and moral needs. The neighborhood is thus the first unit of measurement for the progress of the Kingdom of God; and it stands ready to the hand of every local church.

The sad fact about the Church, from the point of view of thoroughgoing social progress, is not so much that it is not informed and active about great labor contests, or about the broad principles of reform in municipal administration, or about the necessity of National regulation of trusts, or even about broader public moral problems such as child labor and prostitution. The serious thing is that practically every Christian church in the entire country to-day is allowing itself to remain in the attitude of a divisive, disintegrating influence, instead of a center for the promotion of catholic human fellowship and coöperation in its neighborhood, in the local community, for whose democratic progress it stands in the most solemn of all conceivable responsibilities.

This is not in the remotest sense a challenge to a formless and structureless Christian unity or uniformity. It does

mean that every individual body of Christians in every local community must, as Christians, go freely forth out into the community making common cause with every other sort of Christian and every other sort of man of good will, including in their degree even the publicans and sinners, just in so far as they are ready to join forces for any single step toward the filling-out of any phase of the divine plan for any or all of the men, women, and children of that particular community.

The apparently reckless pouring of its energy out into the open life of the community on the part of any particular local church, with careful avoidance of any appearance of seeking to glorify itself — the stirring of other churches in the vicinity to like action — would mean a new moral and spiritual life in any local community. Instead of reducing the amount of force available for the purely spiritual work of the Church, it would bring into a kindling spiritual experience many from among that three fourths of the membership of every church which is never even for a moment really involved in the battle. These would return to the shrine under a spiritual momentum, ready to receive and ready to serve in spiritual things as never before.

This is not even to suggest that the individual churches turn away from any form of fellowship that may go with sustaining the inner loyalty of its own members. The social work of the local church within its own lines would even be strengthened by its taking its free part through now inactive members in progressive social activity of the community at large. In other words, the great principle upon which the foreign missionary service of the Church has won its amazing triumphs — that an outlet of service is the essential precursor of an inlet of grace — this principle we must proceed to put in operation lavishly in that part of the kingdom which is close at hand. Here again if we will but feel out

after God, we shall find that He is not far from every one of us.

There is good reason to believe that we vastly underestimate the readiness of all sorts of people everywhere for neighborly acquaintance, sociability, and coöperative effort. Following upon a period of almost universal shifting from place to place, and the radical change in the social environment of those who themselves have not shifted, there has come to be in this country almost without our noticing it an era of good feeling so far as ordinary human relations are concerned. This change is in the air and can be noticed everywhere. The situation offers a most inviting opportunity to the Church under the policy which I have outlined. A new stage in the actual consciousness of the brotherhood of man is ready to be attained, and its actual realization in terms of more thorough, more effectual, more spiritually productive social relation and organization is within reach.

Along with this kindling sense of fellowship among neighbors, and serving as a constant stimulus to it, is the growing conception of the marvel of life in every small neighborhood, of the variety and importance of the affairs of the neighborhood, of the needs of its public life, of the evils which are coming to public consciousness, of the significance of all the various ways in which the local existence organizes itself, of the need of strong collective action toward increasing productive resources, of the problems going with the protection and enhancement of health, the rearing of children, the improvement of conditions of work and conditions at home, of recreation for children and adolescents, of local politics and legislation involving actual local interests. Taking each of these phases of community life, and fairly analyzing the possibilities of imaginative and inventive social action, especially when the revealing influence of certain simple lines of practical effort has made itself felt, there is the strong be-

ginning of an endless programme of inspiriting and result-getting fellowship. The whole nascent meaning of twentieth-century democracy is thus opened up in the often apparently meaningless public life of every small community.

The illusion, or delusion, which keeps all our local communities from coming into self-consciousness is that they must wait until some large issue arises. The gist of the matter is nearly always found in some apparently small matter which has come to be of concern to a considerable proportion of the people of the community. Under skillful leadership this common feeling can be turned into the channels of organized systematic action producing an actual minted and coined result. The tangible result, however, is only the symbol of what has really been gained, namely, the achieved momentum of a common understanding, a common cause, a common method, and a permanent common advantage.

Another danger is that the emphasis will be placed upon the need of a programme. Every community must make its own programme, and the making of the programme is itself one of the most important phases of community organization.

The first step toward a programme is a systematic study of local conditions and needs — of the make-up of the population as to nationality and religion; of their sanitary and housing conditions; of the various grades and degrees of work, of income, and of expenditure; of the recreational needs of the neighborhood, and its present supply of the forces for educational, philanthropic, and religious progress. The varied facts brought out by such an inquiry will quickly suggest practical first steps to be taken in meeting more obvious and generally agreed-upon needs. It may be that some phase of the programme of child and adolescent nurture and training, already outlined, will call for action. It may be that there are economic and industrial issues that are burn-

ing questions in this particular community; and a body of thoughtful local men and women representing all interests could take a hand in advance of trouble and establish industrial peace and promote industrial prosperity rather than allow a situation to drift into industrial warfare. The relief of the poor, the raising of the standards of home life, the removal of sanitary abuses, stimulus to the public service of city or town in the interest of better health and morality, the improvement of transit facilities, coöperation with the teachers of the public schools, the promotion of municipal and legislative action designed to uplift and enlarge the life of the people as a whole, particularly as suggested by local study and experience — any and all of these may call for collective action. Such an organization ought to devote earnest and continuous attention to the recreative and associational life of the people of the community, particularly of the young people. If there are people living under narrow and crowded conditions, they must particularly be brought into a healthful recreative life. In all our communities there must be lavish, though not necessarily expensive, effort to provide in this way the essential alternative and preventive to vice, and the equally essential provocative to the spirited and high-toned living of life and the pressing on to better things. In every community there is need, as there is opportunity, for that same organization of helpful acquaintance, street by street and house by house, which is developed by the settlement worker, bringing about a varied network of mutual acquaintance and mutual interests that leads to the most substantial ways of organized social betterment and of that fellowship running out along all the interests of life which not only brings good things outwardly to the community, but imparts an inward grace to all concerned.

A particular word needs to be said about the great and growing problem in all our cities and large towns of those

who, living in lodgings, have no home ties, no neighborhood acquaintance. The lodging-house population, which is coming to represent a substantial fraction of the population in all our great cities, is made up chiefly of commercial employees, young men and young women engaged in the great stores and offices. Their wages are low, and their standard of living is very often much higher than they can sustain. Accordingly they postpone marriage or remain permanently unmarried, choosing to live in a respectable-appearing street near the excitements of the city rather than to make a home in a little cottage in the suburbs. The moral setting of their lives is suggested by remembering the sense of homesickness, of being deprived of some of the best props to character and purpose, which one has when one goes even for a short time to a strange place.

Under such circumstances it is of the highest importance that among such a population there should be a systematic organization of informal friendly and neighborly acquaintance to make good to these young people the sustaining power of human ties. In no other way can they be held in the ways of righteousness, not to speak of that finer and higher state of mind and heart which goes with religious experience. Under such conditions it is sometimes necessary that a church should, so to speak, organize a neighborhood under its own roof. But in general it is distinctly better for the local church to send its forces out into the life of the district however incomplete that life may be, joining with all others regardless of their religious affiliations, to surround every one — Protestant, Catholic, Jew, or Turk — with such bracing and rousing influences as will hold him true to his best motives and bring him with all others into happy and aspiring neighborly association.

This problem is one that above all confronts and challenges the downtown Protestant Church. The tenement-

house population in American cities is almost wholly Catholic and Jewish. The lodging-house population is almost wholly Protestant. Moreover, it is not hostile to the Church, and is distinctly susceptible to the simple, direct human approach. The difficulty is that by a strange anomaly our churches seem to follow the theory that because the lodging-house people are not set in families, the Church must give them up; that is, unless all the preliminary work is done, the soil all completely prepared for the good seed, the Church has no mission to the souls of men!

The broadly Christian attack upon the possibilities of human fellowship in a local community involves study of, and so far as possible participation in, its special more or less restricted loyalties of race, religion, politics, industry, culture, and sociability. The different nationalities represented should be understood sympathetically in the light of their past traditions and of their best efforts to meet the problems of life under the special and often very perplexing conditions which confront them. Remember that no section of the human race can have stood all the shocks of time for ages without being in possession of highly valuable and admirable qualities; and remember what a long step it is to a permanent place in the heart of the stranger, if, especially when he is lonely and despised, he is taken into the circle of one's friendly consideration.

To those who cherish forms of faith different from our own, we owe our spiritual confidence and appreciation. One great advantage of throwing the energy of the Church out into the life of the community is that in this way that catholicity of sympathy becomes possible for which religion in general and Christianity above all stands. Each church should train its people in the history of what is best in the life and thought of the others, and representatives of all should then enter in a spirit of fine emulation into social serv-

ice. Proselytism, or anything that can fairly be construed as proselytism, accomplishes no good results which from any point of view can be compared with its evil effects in reviving religious animosity and preventing the working unity of all people of good will. This is not, however, to deny the right and even the duty of any church to offer the ministrations of religion to people of different religious antecedents who are being neglected by the church in which they were born.

The loyalties that go with industrial and commercial pursuits are to-day not only becoming more and more intense, but are constantly more capable of rendering profound service in the forward movement for the social betterment of the community. One of the marked facts of the times is that business men everywhere, whose motto formerly was "Avoid entangling alliances," are to-day associating themselves together not only to promote their common business interests, but for united effort toward the advancement of the welfare of their city or town. It is a happy thing for the Church that many of the men engaged in promoting this tendency are among its active laymen; and there should be no question in the minds of these men but that they not only have the approval and support of the Church, but that they are in a real sense the representatives of the Church in their efforts to humanize and socialize the large operations of business.

Not so often is the Church — at least in its Protestant branches — represented by men active in the counsels of labor organizations; but it should be a definite part of its programme to be in working relations with them for the sake of joint action so far as such action may be possible. In some cases, representatives of the Church are accredited visitors to central labor unions. Such relations may be made to serve a valuable purpose through establishing acquaint-

ance across the line that separates employer and employee, and even preventing strikes through the comparative ease with which negotiations may be established and conducted.

The higher motive in local politics is greatly needed for the moral welfare of all our communities, and it can only come into being through the entrance into local politics of devoted and enlightened men. The Church should definitely urge its laymen to carry their best purposes into local political service. The aim here is not only to lay down higher standards of honesty, but to lift and broaden political ends until they shall actually represent the human needs of the people as to health, recreation, and realistic forms of education. The creating of a local political platform which will thus provide for the collective interests of all the people will give them a new pride in citizenship and a new insight into the meaning of democratic government as being the great form of coöperative action on the part of all the people for the good of all. It is this kind of programme that will make town and city government not merely negatively honest, but actively, constructively, enterprisingly good.

The women's clubs are fast throwing themselves into the momentum of social service; and even the men's secret orders are not impenetrable to the new and broader call of brotherhood. When the national president of the Order of Elks can send out to every one of the four hundred thousand members of that order a statement explaining the Big Brother movement, and urging the members of the order to become Big Brothers to the boys in their local communities, one realizes how great a force for social betterment such organizations may perhaps become.

There are two vital points in policy to be observed in this whole matter of infusing the dynamic of Christian living and Christian hope into the organized social life most nearly about us. One is that we must be fully satisfied with the fact

that the leaven is permeating and doing its work. We must avail ourselves of all existing groups, and be prepared to let all the honor and glory be theirs provided the Kingdom of God be advanced. The Church which seeks to label its service, or attach to itself the outward results of its work, or do anything other than freely cast its bread upon the waters, will by just so much fail of its true reward.

The other point is that we must be possibilists; that is, on the one hand, do the possible thing, and, on the other, exhaust its possibilities. We must strike in where the situation allows; we must be content with crude beginnings. We must wait our chance, and then we must strike hard; we must work unstintedly and cumulatively when the chance comes.

Two steps are necessary in our spiritual enlightenment in order that all the progressive service may become a stirring reality. One is that our eyes should be opened to see the Kingdom of God lying everywhere about, in the infinitely precious lives of all of our fellow-men immediately about us — the unsurpassed sacredness of all that makes up human life — the bearing of every human relation upon the flowering-out of soul and spirit. And, secondly, we need to understand that the price of the consecrated life is to come with our gift — not some one's else — and lay that particular definite gift upon the altar.

Such a thoroughgoing local programme as has been outlined leads out into problems which, of course, cannot be solved locally. But the development of such local association makes it easy to establish common cause with adjoining communities one after another; thus, in an organic way, projecting local public issues into the wider arena of the city and the State. In many of our cities such linking together of local betterment organizations is going on, that there begins to be in the city administration and in State legislation a new and more human attitude because the rank

and file of the people are learning to form themselves together for the expression of their actual collective needs and desires. This force is felt even by the National Government. For forty years there was at Washington an agitation in favor of pure food. It is only in these later years, with the increase of the public power of expression coming out of our homes and out of those social circles in which home affairs are an immediate source of interest, that National pure food legislation has actually been secured.

This suggests that these varied possibilities of local service provide a most explicit and inviting opportunity for the work of women. Beginning with the experience that goes with the varied life of the home, following out by the way of that cultivation of neighborliness which has always been one of the most definite and most important of the duties of women, they can develop kinds and degrees of local public service which can compare favorably with anything that can be done to build up the State.

All these interests should be caught up in the inner organized life of the individual local church, for the sake not only of securing their best ethical gains to the community but of reënforcing their value as a means of personal spiritual growth to those whom the church sends out into the community's service. Every church should have a guild analogous in present-day terms to the original class-meetings of the Wesleys, through which members of the church actively engaged in social work could be kept continuously alert to the highest motives, the broadest bearings, the noblest ends of what they have in hand. The pastor should be the director of this guild, not as being absorbed himself in secular activities but as one who must be, in his immediate world, the skilled interpreter and inspiriting prophet to his people in all that will, in and through them, advance the Kingdom of God.

XIII

THE NEIGHBORHOOD IN SOCIAL RECONSTRUCTION [1]

THE institution of the family existed before there was any human nature. It was not humanity which created the family, but in a real sense the family created humanity.

Now the neighborhood is a still more ancient and fundamentally causative institution than the family. It seems likely that the neighborhood, in the shape of crude gregarious association, was the necessary matrix in which the subtle reciprocities of the family could find suggestion and protection. Such groups developed really organic quality as each of them became a "family of families." The clan and the early village community were the dynamic source out of which the foundation principles of all the more broadly organized social forms have been developed.

It is, I believe, one of the most important and one of the most slighted considerations affecting all the social sciences, that the neighborhood relation has a function in the maintenance and progress of our vast and infinitely complicated society to-day which is not wholly beneath comparison with the function which it exercised in the creative evolution of that society. But there are to-day signs of a wholly new emphasis, both theoretical and practical, upon the function of the neighborhood as affecting the whole contemporary social process.

The peculiar disregard of the neighborhood in the theoretical and practical counsels of statesmanship, and of the

[1] *American Journal of Sociology*, March, 1914. Developed from an address on "The Neighborhood and the Nation" before the National Conference of Charities in 1909.

non-governmental administration of society, is to be traced largely to the psychological attitude of social students and social administrators. Once three eminent geographers — Élisée Reclus, Kropotkin, and Patrick Geddes — were engaged in conversation when the question was raised, "If you go to the bottom of your mind, what is the resultant conception of the world which you find there?" They all agreed that it was the one which had been determined by the four-square Mercator's projection-maps in the little textbooks which they had first studied. Is it not true that in all social studies our minds are inevitably conventionalized by the constant dominance over them, during the whole period of education, of those particular social institutions which are in more or less crystallized form, whose sanctions are obvious and unavoidable, and which project themselves in large and somewhat distant terms? Have we in sociology really passed the stage represented in medicine by the discovery of the circulation of the blood? If so, how far have we come in the study of society to the microscopic observational analysis of ultimate cell life and of germ cultures, as contrasted with the discredited diagnosis of large-scale symptoms?

Aside from any claim of the neighborhood based on past social evolution, it presents the highest contemporary elements of value from the point of view of a developed scientific method, whether theoretical or applied. The neighborhood is large enough to include in essence all the problems of the city, the State, and the Nation; and in a constantly increasing number of instances in this country it includes all the fundamental international issues. It is large enough to present these problems in a recognizable community form, with some beginnings of social sentiment and social action with regard to them. It is large enough to make some provision for the whole variety of extra-family interests and attachments, which in the fully developed community are ever

more and more obscuring the boundary line that closes the family in upon itself. It is large enough so that the facts and forces of its public life, rightly considered, have significance and dramatic compulsion; so that its totality can arrest and hold a germinating public sense.

On the other hand, it is small enough to be a comprehensible and manageable community unit. It is in fact the only one that is comprehensible and manageable; the true reason why city administration breaks down is that the conception of the city breaks down. The neighborhood is concretely conceivable; the city is not, and will not be except as it is organically integrated through its neighborhoods.

Everybody knows that the battle for sound democratic government, as a battle, is still an affair of sharpshooters and raiders. The center of the army and the rear detachments are not yet engaged. But this great majority is consciously, keenly, and, up to a certain point, successfully, involved in the democratic administration of neighborhood affairs. The neighborhood is the vital public arena to the majority of men, to nearly all women and to all children; in which every one of them is a citizen, and many of them, even among the children, are statesmen — as projecting and pushing through plans for its collective welfare. It is in the gradual public self-revelation of the neighborhood — in its inner public values, and in its harmony of interest with the other neighborhoods — that the reserve detachments of citizenship are to be swung into the battle of good municipal administration and good administration of cultural association in the city at large; it is this process which will turn the balance definitely and decisively in the direction of a humanized system of politics, of industrialism, and of morality.

I am inclined to think that on the whole there is a certain dignity in the sentiment of the neighborhood about itself which is not equaled in fact by any of our other forms of

social self-consciousness. The family may be abject; the neighborhood is never so. The city may admit itself disgraced; the neighborhood always considers disgrace foisted upon it. The Nation may have its repentant moods; the University and the Church may be apologetic under attack; but the neighborhood will tolerate no criticism from without and little from within.

This strong and sometimes exaggerated sense of collective self-respect brings it about that neighborhood leadership, so far as neighborhood affairs are concerned, if it is to be real and continuous leadership of the people, must be on a basis both of equality and of honest dealings. The local boss, however autocratic he may be in the larger sphere of the city with the power which he gets from the neighborhood, must always be in and of the local people; and he is always very careful not to try to deceive the local people so far as their distinctively local interests are concerned. It is hard to fool a neighborhood about its own neighborhood affairs.

A neighborhood is a peculiarly spontaneous social group. It represents life at all points of human relations, not life on the basis of a few subjective ideas. Its collective sentiment is wrought out of a variety of emotions that have not been generalized and abstracted, and therefore go as directly and certainly into action as those of a normal child. It is not a smooth, cut-and-dried scheme, fashioned by imitation; but a drama full of initiative and adventure. Every day in a neighborhood is a new day. Here social action has free course. The crowd psychology, the mysterious currents in popular sentiment, which we from time to time can study telescopically in the larger horizon, are in essence constantly alert in the neighborhood.

The neighborhood is the most satisfactory and illuminating form of the social extension of personality, of the interlacing and comprehensive complex of personalities;

the social unit which can by its clear definition of outline, its inner organic completeness, its hair-trigger reactions, be fairly considered as functioning like a social mind.

Modern conditions of industrial specialization, the mobility of population, and easy intercommunication have brought a degree of disintegration to neighborhood life; but with the exception of some of the downtown sections of the great cities, this disintegration has not proceeded so far as is ordinarily thought. The time has come for a great renewal of confidence in the vitality of the neighborhood as a political and moral unit. Disorganized neighborhoods must by a great and special effort be reconstructed. These and all other neighborhoods which have lost their responsible leadership must by motives of patriotic adventure be provided with such a transfusion of civic blood as will lead to a thorough quickening of the functions of "the family of families." And all normally conditioned local communities must be inspired to the rediscovery in modern terms and under modern standards of achievement of their latent collective energies.

It happens here as in medical science that discoveries are made under the appeal and threat of disease; but the results of experiments with untoward conditions have their great use not in cure or even in the prevention of specific degeneracy but in the promotion and exaltation of the general normal well-being. The new meaning of the neighborhood as developed at four hundred settlements which have sprung up in America during this generation to 1910 will find its fulfillment in the next in a National movement for a new synthesis of neighborhood well-being and productive power.

From the point of view of the transfer of social leadership from one local community to another, one of the most striking facts about the neighborhood is that, though it is essen-

tially an intimate circle, it is at bottom always a hospitable one, always ready to receive new recruits. The first impact of a new arrival may be chilling, but in due time the newcomer begins almost automatically to go through the degrees of this greatest and freest of human free-masonries. As Mark Twain has suggested, when a man sits down beside you in the railroad car, your first feeling is one of intrusion; but after a little something happens to make your being in the same seat a matter of common interest, and the feeling of recoil dissolves into a continuous friendly glow.

It is surely one of the most remarkable of all social facts that, coming down from untold ages, there should be this instinctive understanding that the man who establishes his home beside yours, by that very act begins to qualify as an ally of yours and begins to have a claim upon your sense of comradeship. Surely this deeply ingrained human instinct is capable of vast and even revolutionary results. Among the unexplored and almost undiscovered assets upon which we must depend for the multiplication of wealth and well-being in the future, may it not be that here in the apparently commonplace routine of our average neighborhoods is the pitch blende out of which, by the magic of the applied social science that is to come, a new radium of economic and moral productive resource will be elicited?

From this point of view, the science of the community needs its neighborhood laboratories as one of its most essential resources. Nearly all highly educated persons are snatched out of neighborhood experience at an early age, and few of us ever really have it again. Thus our opportunity for the experimental, pragmatic study of typical human relations is lost — lost so far that in most cases we forget that we are suffering loss. Neighborhood impulse is one of the great values of life as to which we forget that we have ever forgotten. As our positive interchange is almost

exclusively confined to the one sixth of the population of our cities and towns which make the professional and commercial classes — that is, the wide-ranging, unneighborly classes — we are inclined to think of the neighborhood as offering little more challenge to scientific inquiry than our almost faded-out neighbor remembrances would suggest. It is in fact necessary that social science as now organized should have a change of heart, a real conversion, as to the endless intellectual interest and inexhaustible capacity for a better social order which lies in neighborhood life everywhere.

As has been suggested, the principal forms of effort leading to neighborhood research lie in experiments directed positively toward the better organization of more or less disintegrated neighborhoods, and conducted chiefly under initiative coming in the first instance from without. The distinguishing watchword of such effort is participation. It is in the hands of persons who live continuously in the neighborhood, and who let whatever of leadership they may have take the sporting chances of winning approval and response from the people of the neighborhood. As the force of neighborhood workers grows, it comes to represent both the line and the staff, the different grades of general administrative officers and the specialists in the different ways of service. There are two contrasted but mutually related ways of attack — first, an ascending scale of more or less formal classes and clubs, beginning with the mothers' prenatal class and reaching up into adult years; and secondly, a great variety of informal effort, principally in the way of visiting up and down the front streets, the side streets, and the back streets — going out into the highways and the hedges — starting at the outer fringes of the neighborhood and working toward the center.

The more obvious common interests to be developed and

directed fall under three main heads: health, vocation, recreation.

The fact that no modern city has yet proved its capacity to reproduce its own population; that one half of each generation dies before it matures into productive power; that two of the greatest of all the economic wastes are found in infant mortality and child morbidity — comes home to the neighborhood worker in terms of a direct personal human challenge. The proper care and feeding of infants; the development of medical inspection and nursing in connection with the public schools; the local organization of the campaign against tuberculosis; the securing of public baths, gymnasiums, and playgrounds; the provision of country vacations for the children and young people of congested city quarters; and the insistent development of housing reform — as definite forms of action toward the promotion of public health — had many of their inevitable beginnings in connection with this motive of neighborhood reorganization; and their progress depends largely upon its continuous, first-hand, intensive contacts. In fact it is historically true that the constructive motive as to the public health is of recent date, and until the last two or three decades nothing really substantial was done by public health authorities in our cities, except by a sort of spasm immediately after an epidemic. The raising of the banner of a human way of life in the poorest and meanest byways of our cities, by persons of intelligence and resource who are themselves actually encountering such serious sanitary evils through dwelling in the midst of them — this has had much to do with bringing about the present great movement of continuous and exhaustive public hygiene in our cities.

It must be remembered that this mighty enterprise, which has already accomplished so much for the human race, by the widest dissemination of practical knowledge as to the

care and enhancement of health, cannot accomplish and hold its result unless it reach every doorstep and every fireside. Particularly since the collapse of the institutional method for the upbringing of neglected children, and the return to the problem of reconstructing rather than abolishing even the low-grade family life, it has been seen that very important new responsibilities are to be laid upon average and under-average mothers in relatively resourceless neighborhoods; and that there must be an efficiently led neighborhood system by which these mothers shall be trained and held to their task; that a neighborhood sentiment and a neighborhood gossip must be created and steadily maintained which shall make these mothers in some degree at least mentally and morally equal to the service which civilization must lay upon them.

Another of the greatest wastes is in the loss of productive power through the lack of vocational training. Place a group of earnest young men and women who have themselves received the best and most complete training for life which their times afford, in a neighborhood where the great majority of the children end their educational experience without any sort of training for livelihood, and are thrown helpless out into the confusing currents of a great city's activities — and you soon find a band of intense and restless advocates of the vocational extension of our public school system. The powerful tendency in this direction throughout the country is owing not a little to just such experiences; and the growing realization on the part of working-class parents of the necessity of such education — as shown in the marked change of front recently made upon this subject by organized labor — is the result in an equal degree of the activity of the local social workers.

Supposing it to be true that fifteen per cent of the new generation at the most is now receiving some sort of ade-

quate training for the intelligent productive work of life, one of the greatest of all present social tasks is to bring it about that the next fifteen per cent shall have its appropriate opportunity for such training. And the bringing it about, the proper encouragement of parents, the proper launching of these youth upon their vocational careers must come in the first instance at least through effectively organized neighborhood relationships.

The social recreation of young people is in every sort of community a problem of anxious significance; but where the home and the neighborhood have lost their coherence, it is beset continually with moral tragedy. A study of the problem of the young working girl which the National Federation of Settlements conducted during a period of two years,[1] whose results represent the collated evidence of two thousand social workers, brings out very clearly the fact that as soon as the young girl wage-earner finds that she cannot have in her own neighborhood a satisfying reaction from the strain of work, she is carried by the essential forces of her being into a veritable ambush of moral danger. As President Lowell has suggested in advocating freshmen dormitories, the recreations of youth lose their danger when they are associated with one's normal conditions and relationships; they become ominous when they have to be sought apart from the normal way of life. It is precisely so with young people everywhere. Some of the best social service of to-day is being rendered by residents of settlements who enter whole-heartedly with young working people into a really vital programme of enjoyment within the immediate circle of neighborly acquaintance. These leaders thus acquire an authority from within which enables them, with full and free consent, to establish a better standard, and a still better,

[1] *Young Working Girls*, edited by Robert A. Woods and Albert J. Kennedy. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1913.

for social custom and for personal behavior. To those who know how the fundamental sexual morality of our cities often seems to be trembling in the balance, the value of such a method can hardly be stated in terms too strong or too broad; and it depends upon as close a study, and as persistent and exhaustive a practice, of neighborhood sociology as the most expert local politician can make in his way and for his purpose.[1]

The most significant new phase of the policy of our various semi-public and public institutions for the care of the sick and of the morally delinquent is in their system of so-called social service, or "follow-up" work, through which a patient or inmate is once more, by a marked exercise of persistence and skill on the part of special field officers, integrated into the life of his local community. This means the creation of a network of local influences into which the physical or moral convalescent can be sympathetically received, through which the chance of his again falling out of a normal scheme of life may be greatly lessened.

Such effort adds point, and provides technical stimulus and suggestion, in the neighborhood, toward making such a network effective as a weir in which to catch cases on their way to physical or moral decline; and beyond that toward creating a complete and powerful system of positive upbuilding forces in the neighborhood, affecting every phase of life from infancy onward, which will more and more lay aside the merely preventive motive in favor of that which demands the largest and richest fulfillment of life.

It is through the emergence of such interests in their neigh-

[1] Professor T. N. Carver, after a period of special service in the National Department of Agriculture, said it was now clear that the economic prosperity of the farmer, instead of making him and his family satisfied to remain upon the farm, only the sooner leads them to move to a town or city. Neighborhood cultural organization in the open country thus appears to be not merely a matter of sentimental interest, but of the most substantial National concern.

borhood phase that a plexus of ties is gradually created which traverses all the cleavages of racial and religious distinction. We need always to remember — and we certainly do not often remember it in the right connection — that in this country we have in an increasingly large proportion of our cities and towns a bewildering complication of all the problems of political and industrial democracy, together with all the problems of cosmopolitanism. Those issues coming out of racial instinct which other nations meet on their frontiers, or at least at arm's length, we find at the very center of our intensest community life. The continual experience of finding that efforts to unite well-meaning citizens upon programmes of public welfare and progress are so easily thwarted by the crafty use of racial and religious appeals is only a single index of the absolute patriotic necessity of finding a genuine foundation upon which solid unity of interest and action can be built up. Here the neighbor instinct again demonstrates its priceless value as the cement of twentieth century democracy; but not when left to itself, for here more than ever is necessary the infusion of a quality of neighborhood leadership which represents American economic, political, and moral standards. It would be only too easy for the neighbor sentiment to bring about a kind of assimilation among immigrants which would be merely a foreign composite, hardly nearer to American standards than were its original constituents.

Under enlightened and patriotic American leadership, every phase of immigrant culture is not only respected but fostered; but the different immigrant types are gradually brought together on the basis of common hygienic, vocational, and recreative interests, through multiplex forms of friendly and helpful association day after day, year after year — until such neighborhood relations begin to constitute in themselves an underlying current of conviction

which no ordinary appeal to ancient prejudice can disturb, and upon which the incentives of civic and national patriotism can begin surely to rely.

Such an influence provides for the immigrant that welcome of which he has dreamed; shelters his children from the vicious allurements against which he often cannot protect them; brings forth for local public appreciation the skill of hand, the heirlooms, the training in native music or drama, which the different types of immigrants have brought with them; makes special efforts to prevent the parents, and particularly the mothers, from falling behind their children in the process of Americanization — thus holding together the fabric of all that is best in the immigrant home, while patiently integrating it into the common local relationships.

Three things may be suggested at this point with regard to the general problem of immigration.

1. All such effort as has been outlined is made extremely difficult and sometimes temporarily impossible by the flooding of neighborhoods with constant new streams of immigrants.

2. The intelligently directed neighborhood process can easily be made the most effective way in which their present and future value to the Nation can be determined.

3. Whatever may be said about the restriction of immigration, there is no question but that the one policy after the immigrants have arrived is to train them in our standard of living; and that for this purpose, the wisely directed neighborhood process is an absolutely indispensable resource.

Out of such effort to-day is coming a real emergence of democratic communal capacity. Directly or indirectly as the result of settlement work, there are springing up in the working-class districts of some of our largest cities local improvement societies in which the vital germ of nascent democratic achievement is brought about — a civic result

which is worth more, so far as these people are concerned, than would be the universal mastery on their part of all the manuals of constitutional government. Common expression of local needs is drawn out into some specific piece of common action. By the time such action has accomplished the desired result, there has come about a single complete experience and achievement of citizenship which marks the dawning of a downright civic consciousness. The repetition of such experiences — the discovery that democracy is not merely repressive but constructive in tangible terms; that it properly calls not merely for honesty but for serviceability of administration; that its tangible benefits come equally to all on the same terms — all this constitutes a vital adventure through which a group of neighbors actually taste blood in the matter of citizenship; its sting, its virus becomes a part of their life from that time on.

In political democracy we have a system of coöperation in the great total, which began with the socially microscopic neighborhood unit. Deliberate schemes of social reconstruction nearly always fall back upon it. Certain phases of the organization of labor — the Knights of Labor, for example, before their decline — have undertaken a formation subject to the lines of the local community. Syndicalism to-day seems to be returning to the same emphasis. It is true, of course, that coöperation in England and on the Continent has built largely upon the affiliation of local neighborship, and in turn devotes much attention to cultivating such affiliations. These references are made particularly by way of suggesting that if, as many good observers believe, we are to see in this country a new and rapid growth of experiment toward economic coöperation, these communities in which a vital and achieving neighborhood consciousness has already been aroused, will be the most likely soil in which this seed shall germinate and bear fruit. The

success of coöperation in England, and its failure thus far here, are commonly laid to the homogeneity of the one people and the lack of it in the other. The achievement of sound neighborhood assimilation among us will surely go far toward bringing such experiments within our range.

One of the most striking aspects of the presence of mental dark spots with regard to the neighborhood as the least common multiple, from the point of view of the home, and the greatest common divisor, from the point of view of the State, is the almost total lack of the compilation and publication of statistical information about it. As the constructive neighborhood sense grows, it will certainly insist that precise specifications be laid before it, with the result that the collective power of neighborhoods will be greatly stimulated and developed.

Such a disclosure, minute on the one hand, so far as each neighborhood is concerned, but comprehensive and exhaustive for cities and States, will for the first time present the real pattern in which the municipality and the Commonwealth, as total fabrics put together out of interlacing neighborhoods, will begin to work out large human projects in their true lights and shades, and in their delicate adjustments of proportion and perspective. It would be hard to overestimate the importance of such results to city planning. Sociology as an art, no less than as a science, must find its primary essential data in the fully understood neighborhood — building organically from the neighborhood, up to the Nation. Aside from political action, this same ascendant synthesis must be worked out in terms of voluntary association even more subtly and exhaustively for purposes of advancing social welfare. Here such federations as were first organized in our cities for purposes of scientific charity, and those which with an ampler and more positive programme are forming among the settlement houses of some of our cities

are foreshadowing something of the value of the objects, and the interest of the technique, which a properly worked out federation of the neighborhoods of a city would have. The settlement federations, gathering up in an increasing degree the indigenous interests of the tenement-house neighborhoods of the city, proceed to eliminate wasteful competition of effort, to bring different specialties of service up to the best standard reached by any of the houses, to secure experts in different forms of service and send them from neighborhood to neighborhood, to classify local needs that are common to all the neighborhoods and make them the basis of a presentation of ascertained facts to be acted upon by the city government or the State legislature, and to bring out into the broader life of the city the average citizens of the less resourceful local sections.

In one city there is a United Improvement Association with delegates from some eighteen local improvement organizations, including both the downtown and the suburban sections. This organization is gradually coming to have much of the influence of a branch of the city government, with the important qualification that membership in it is by definition restricted to men who have won that right by neighborhood social service. The sociological type of federation goes experimentally through the actual hierarchy of the social organism, from the family, through the neighborhood, the larger district, up to the city and the State — it rediscovers what precise functions belong to each in and of itself, what functions the neighborhoods perform for the city through acting by themselves, and what functions they can render for it as for themselves only by broad forms of thoroughly organized team play covering the city or State as a whole.

There are two of our great institutions which, roused by the results of experiment in neighborhood reorganization,

are beginning to awaken to the great National possibilities of a quickened neighborhood spirit, freshened down to date. The public school in some of our States is being developed into a rendezvous for every form of local community interest; and a specialized force is beginning to be organized for the necessary and responsible leadership in such enterprise. The church social service commissions, which have now been organized in not fewer than thirty-five different divisions of the Christian Church, are coming to realize that the churches possess an inconceivably valuable asset for social reconstruction in that they have in every local community throughout the land a building equipment and a group of people who, as a matter of fact, are already solemnly pledged to work with every one in the community for the well-being and progress of the community as a whole. The spread of this conception will give a new complexion to many of the most anxious problems of democracy. It will leaven the whole country with a new type of constructive, intrinsic patriotism.

XIV

THE WHITE MOUNTAIN CADDIES[1]

THE physical stamina of city boys, which has long been recognized as a crucial factor in community well-being, has by recent events been given a kind of significance which makes it one of the central issues in National conservation. Not a few of the most productive phases of social work are aimed directly at overcoming, so far as may be, the noxious physical and moral effects of tenement conditions upon those who are soon to make up the ranks of industry and citizenship. The settlements in their early days began to make such efforts as their resources would allow toward securing gymnasiums and playgrounds. These efforts had at first been looked upon as contemplating a sort of luxury. In due time, city administrations began to experiment in this direction, and it is to-day felt to be an essential duty of progressive municipalities to provide such opportunities.

The management of the hotels at Bretton Woods, having gone through many discouraging experiences with caddy boys picked up here and there, suggested to the South End House that it undertake to provide and manage the boys for the Mount Washington links. The proposal at first raised certain doubts as to bringing boys into association with a great summer hotel with the suggestion of certain moral dangers. Could the evils of the tipping system be eliminated or greatly reduced? Would the influence of the players upon boys be such as their settlement counselors and guides would desire?

After going into the matter thoroughly and finding that Mr. John Anderson, the much-respected manager at that

[1] *Boston Transcript*, September 14, 1917.

time of the Mount Washington Hotel, was most definitely interested in all that could be done to secure good results in the training and discipline of the boys, a first season was undertaken as an experiment with a group of twenty-five or thirty boys.

The "caddy scheme" has spread from Bretton Woods so that now it includes ten different golf links — eight in the White Mountains, one at Rye Beach, and one at Dark Harbor. It has become thoroughly established as an all-summer outing system for four hundred city boys, paying its way, including overhead charges.

In the spring the boys are carefully selected on the basis of good school and club records and good behavior at home and in the streets. It seems sometimes as if the boys would sprout wings in their eagerness to qualify for caddy appointment. Before going up to the mountains, new recruits are coached in the elements of caddy service. In the process of preparation the coöperation of the parents is thoroughly secured. By this time there is a strong tradition in all the homes from which caddies have been appointed as to the pronounced value of the scheme, and the reënforcement which its educational aims get in this way is very considerable.

One great advantage which goes with this form of outing, from the point of view of those who are responsible for the detailed management, is that the main part of the boys' time is actively filled. The great problem in all boys' camps is just here. The caddy boys have their business responsibilities, with proper business inducement, upon the links every fair day. In a great majority of cases they become keenly interested in their part of the game. In fact, there is a sharp competitive spirit among the boys themselves as to whose "man" is going to be successful and why. It is interesting to note that concern as to the influence of players upon

the boys has almost entirely disappeared. In nearly all cases it is found to be a most valuable experience to the boys to be in contact with successful business and professional men. The players themselves soon realize that they are getting unusually good service, and that there is an educational phase to the caddy organization. Very often a positive influence is established which means much for the boy and sometimes for the man.

Tipping is kept within reasonable limits by the establishment of a regular system of payment by the hour, or, in many cases, by engagements entered into by the boys which last for a week or more. Every boy's earnings are collected each night and he is allowed a small amount for spending money. In this way they nearly all have at the end of the season a substantial sum to their credit, averaging twenty-five dollars after they have paid their board, their camp fee, and all other charges. At Bretton Woods, where the colony has been continuously under the auspices of the South End House, a plan of organization has been gradually worked out which includes, under three representatives of the settlement staff, ten older boys as sergeants. These sergeants assist with the supervision of living arrangements, with the care of finances — which is a considerable task — with the post-office, with many varied details that go with the interests and responsibilities of the caddy corps, and last, but not least, with the caddy candy store. They are often deeply infected with their leaders' spirit of responsible service.

The boys at Bretton Woods are housed in two large buildings half a mile away from the hotels and entirely out of their immediate atmosphere. In all the boys' comings and goings they are not associated at all with the hotel *ménage*. The difficult problem of rainy days is now effectively provided for in a large cow barn which has been made over into a

great playroom. Every day throughout the season there is provided carefully organized recreation. During the summer the boys have a great variety of such sport and adventure as this wonderful horizon can so fully afford, including a final hike to the top of Mount Washington. Their leisure time is not wholly given up to casual interests, but has threads of continuous discipline running through it. Every morning begins with its setting-up drill. Regular church attendance is strictly required. The entire company is trained in singing, and the annual caddy concert has come to be one of the features of the Bretton Woods season.

Together the physical and moral results are such as to bring to the boys a sense of discovery of powers and possibilities within themselves never before realized. For those who continue for several seasons as members of the caddy corps, it is like a different plane of life that brings them obviously into a higher type of young manhood than otherwise would have been at all possible to them. One can see whole groups of neighborhood boys who, with the sentiment which they create and the influence disseminated by them, are factors for wholesome and purposeful living much beyond what could have been the case under ordinary conditions. Such a summer scheme bridges the gulf between the end of the club season in the spring and its beginning in the autumn; so that instead of facing the rather distracting task of pulling the forces together in October, the leaders find the boys, having been under continuous discipline and inspiration, fully on the alert for the winter's undertakings.

Aside from the Bretton Woods colony, with its one hundred boys, there have been this summer at Maplewood seventy-five boys from the North Bennet Street Industrial School, at Bethlehem thirty boys from the Norfolk House Center, at Jefferson sixty boys from the Ellis Memorial Club, at Tarleton Lake thirty-five boys from Saint John's Church,

Charlestown, at Dixville Notch thirty-five boys from the Boylston Church, Jamaica Plain. At the Profile House, Fabyans, Rye Beach, and Dark Harbor there have been altogether about ninety boys coming from settlement houses in different sections of Boston.

For the future it is proposed that this entire system shall be under the general control of the Boston Social Union, the settlement federation, and that in addition to developing the local possibilities of each center, there shall be more coming and going among them in the way of athletic contests, joint concerts, and other combined interests. It is intended also that this large number of picked boys of different parts of the city shall be held together more closely in a common loyalty during the winter by means of visits around and an occasional large reunion. A real fellowship will be established among them so that the keen loyalties that go with the "caddy scheme" shall become a force for the establishment of definite and permanent standards for the life of the boys in the city.

Very important future results for the improvement of political and moral conditions throughout the life of the city as a whole can be accomplished through some really stirring way of reaching boys in the different districts who have the special instinct and capacity for leadership in them. There is no way in which this can better be done than through taking such boys apart under spirited and devoted leaders who understand the subtle art of nurturing the adolescent and by a combination of the most vitalizing influences infusing their whole natures with high purpose and aspiration. It is just as definitely clear as any of the results of medical science that low-grade political power comes of the loyalties that develop among the kind of young men who are the subject-matter of the caddy scheme. It is just as obvious that if the gang spirit, which, as acquaintance begins to spread in a

wider and wider radius through the city, creates the binding power and driving force of machine politics, can be wholesomely leavened and transformed, the fundamental, indispensable work of making city democracy safe for itself will have been done. The enterprise here outlined, once fully worked out, will do this. It provides, moreover, a definite preparation of the boy for any strenuous exaction which his country may lay upon him. The "caddy scheme" indeed represents a kind of junior Plattsburg, with a continuous follow-up available to the poor boy and equipping him to take his full responsible part in war or peace.

XV

TWENTY-ONE KINDS OF VISITING

THE institutional danger is ever present in every sort of social work. The settlement, originally a protest against it, is far from being free of the danger of succumbing to it. The indoors point of view needs to be continually balanced off by the pull of the neighborhood without. We must be as much magnetized by the circumference as by the center.

The South End House has sought to create a counter-current to the momentum of interest and activity that finds so ready a course into the technical and specialized grooves of institutionalism, by opening up technical and specialized channels that lead directly out into the neighborhood, its homes and its inter-family circles. This is done through a variously subdivided system of visiting. Of the twenty-one kinds of visiting here given, nine are conducted by persons of special training to accomplish the result in hand. Several other sorts developed when the United States entered the World War, those in connection with food conservation, the coal supply, the influenza epidemic and the Home Service of the Red Cross, being the most important:

1. General friendly visiting.
2. Autumn canvass preliminary to winter work (one thousand families called upon).
3. Spring canvass preliminary to vacation work.
4. Visiting in homes and factories for the collection of savings.[1]
5. Nurses' visiting for neighborhood hygiene work.[1]
6. Nurses' visiting in connection with infant feeding and care.[1]
7. Nurses' visiting for pre-natal care.

[1] Pursued daily.

8. Visiting to report kindergarten and Montessori school medical examinations and to see to follow-up treatment.
9. Sanitary inspection on request before reporting to the Board of Health.
10. Visiting in connection with clubs and classes; and with summer vacations and outings.[1]
11. Home and school visiting, including special work in following up domestic instruction.[1]
12. Visiting in coöperation with the Family Welfare Society.
13. Follow-up visiting for the Juvenile Court, evening schools, etc.
14. Calling in connection with subjects of investigation, such as family budgets, unemployment, etc.
15. Visiting in preparation for special events.
16. Special calling at Christmas and other holiday times.
17. Visiting in connection with gatherings at scattered centers.
18. Visiting for the two local improvement associations (much of it done by the neighbors themselves).
19. Room registry visiting.
20. Evening and Sunday visiting among young women in lodgings.
21. Visiting in 154 tenements by a resident who is a member of the Coöperative Building Company.

[1] Pursued daily.

XVI

CHILDHOOD NEIGHBORHOOD REMINISCENCE IN SOCIOLOGICAL TRAINING

THE settlement, as originally an offshoot of the university, has always in greater or less degree met the point of view of recent graduates with an attitude of investigation, experiment, and outlook upon some of the forces of current history. But it finds the process at best a slow one by which they reduce their mental and emotional focus to the local neighborhood, to its interests and affairs, to its personalities, and to first-hand action among individuals and small groups. The settlement has abundantly established for its field the long-range value of college training; but in many instances these values only gradually become available.

No doubt a thorough analysis of this situation would reveal much that might suggest modifications in the method and spirit both of the college and the settlement. I would now refer to a particular deficiency in the attitude of young graduates which not only particularly affects the work of the settlement, but represents a real menace to the influence of the highly educated in a democratic nation.

As they come to the settlement from the university their instinct for neighborliness, their sense for what is racy of the immediate soil, their conception of the kindling interest in the lives of all the people nearabout, their curiosity about what is going on up and down the street, — the sap-like rise of such natural impulse, — for a long time, hardly makes its living presence known.

The settlements rely upon a more or less definite scheme of apprenticeship training, amid many spirited expressions of neighborly sentiment, to bring the neighbor feeling to

the surface. This result is always slow to be reached. In not a few instances, and those sometimes of persons of exceptional character and capacity, the end in view comes so gradually that discouragement begins to suggest itself in both directions. Without doubt much valuable reënforcement to the settlement cause has been lost in this way.

Now if anything is certain it is that when these young people leave home they are the keenest of neighbors. The college course denatures them in this respect. The freshman's homesickness is rudely and crudely dealt with. It is of the essence of freshness to talk about things at home. He is put through a process of repression and suppression. Not all the new interests and associations can relieve him of the subconscious sense of maimed and bruised habitual emotions. Some day our psychoanalytic experts will discover and set forth the effects on study and discipline of this ungentle rending of the mind and heart of a young neighbor from those neighborhood attachments which have so largely been his life.[1]

Soon, however, the pain of this experience is forgotten, and the student, if a vigorous personality, becomes more and more absorbed in the artificial community life of the college, with its relative uniformities of economic condition, intellectual capacity, intellectual preoccupation, age-period, homelessness, and even, in the case of many institutions, of sex. Nearly all the studies pursued create a mental outlook of broad personal detachment.

One would not raise a question as to the vast benefits of the college course. Even its detachments have their value. But, with the settlement as a test, there is powerful and convincing evidence that some of their incidental effects are con-

[1] From this point of view here suggested read "Mental Hygiene and the College Student," by Frankwood E. Williams, *Mental Hygiene*, April, 1921.

trary to the social welfare; with specific indications of injury to the persons directly involved, not only during the years immediately following the college course, but during the college course itself.

Earnest consideration has been given at the South End House to the possibility of some short cut through which recruits from the colleges might be sooner brought into the "feel" of the neighborhood, and into the full humor of neighborhood work. Under this motive, a belief was developed that if there were some way of renurturing the young collegian — of bringing his mind, for neighborhood purposes, back to the set which was characteristic of it before going away from home — it might be possible, as in a metaphor, to bring the old neighborly emotion to the surface, and direct it into a new neighborhood channel.

In order to test this theory, it was proposed that young residents should have their memories stirred as to their general experience of life in the communities in which they spent their childhood. The members of the settlement training class were asked to prepare papers, to be read and discussed, presenting pictures, as complete in outline as possible, of neighborhood conditions, characters, atmosphere, institutions, as they existed about their homes.

At first, the members of the class were quite embarrassed about presenting such material. There was, of course, the natural hesitation about setting forth what was quite personal; and one might well believe that the positively and negatively hostile influences of the intervening years had created difficult inhibitions. Soon, however, this reserve began to wear away; and deep interest began to appear in the preparation of the stories, and in the analytical and comparative discussion of them in the class. The transition to the study of the settlement neighborhood was an easy one; and from that the step into the consideration of the construc-

tive neighborliness of the settlement. From this stage their thoughts were turned back, and they realized their younger selves as neighbors in a fuller and clearer sense, and could see what the settlement scheme would have meant to themselves as participants in it. In most cases they could remember some person or persons who had themselves anticipated the spirit or even the method of the settlement.

There has been no question that this experiment has not only shortened the period of training, but distinctly enriched it. This has been proved both by the testimony of the young people and by that of the department leaders who have inducted them into their practical duties. Where the experiment has been systematically carried out, there is reason to believe that it reduces by one half the length of time in which the young resident comes into the current of the local sympathies and loyalties.

My colleague, Albert J. Kennedy, utilized this principle in the Boston School of Social Work and in special settlement training classes. On the basis of a carefully drawn questionnaire,[1] he has secured reminiscent neighborhood studies from between three and four hundred young people. These presentments have given reality and zest to the course in a peculiar degree. They have assisted considerably with the proper launching of the students into their practice work. In not a few cases this feature of the course has given graduates of the school a more discerning and a more confident start on their work, and has laid the foundation for that respect for their material on which all sound achievement depends.

The inquiry as to the possibilities of this method has been carried back to the college course itself. Could it be utilized

[1] See Appendix. Professor F. Stuart Chapin has used this method successfully at Smith College, and it is now receiving the test of experience at two or three Western universities.

in connection with college courses in sociology in such way as in some measure to prevent the denaturing process and to turn out graduates who would be at once all the better neighbors for their period of academic isolation?

It cannot be doubted that the preparation of such personal human interest stories as are many of those which have been secured would aid greatly in bringing undergraduates into sympathy with the subject-matter of sociological courses. They would provide a variety of live material for study. They would make the students at once contributors and coöperators in developing the course, and that out of the most vivid experiences of their lives.

If this plan could be put into operation in connection with such a general freshman course as is now being offered in a number of colleges, ways could be found of carrying it along continuously from year to year. It might even be expanded so as to be taken up in the courses in economics, history, literature, ethics. Assignments might be made which would encourage students to continue their trained observation of the home community through correspondence during term time and at first hand during vacations, making their reports from time to time. They could thus be encouraged and directed to note progress in their own normal background, and even to participate in it. The widening range of comparisons that would be made possible among the students would tend to disseminate among them all a kind of corporate sense of kindling actuality. Here would be a college study that was nothing other than life itself.

Such a process would make a vital addition to range of illustration for whatever course might include it. It would, indeed, afford to sociology and the other humanities a kind and an amount of essentially laboratory experience such as they now gravely lack and could hardly expect to afford in any other way. It would certainly add new stimulus to local

community studies undertaken in the vicinity of the college itself.

One particularly happy result to be anticipated would be the removal in a real degree of the reproach against many sociological courses that they are intangible except as they deal with the pathological side of life. Dr. E. E. Southard, in almost the last address before his lamented death, pointed out that it was very much easier to discover, analyze, and tabulate evil than to get the same objective results with good.[1] There is reason to believe that the strong inclination of much college teaching toward the various aspects of degeneracy is because material with regard to it, especially in statistical form, is so much more substantial, available, and negotiable than data about efforts beginning with relatively normal life and working toward a better order. The proposed plan might mark the beginning of a change in the whole complexion of sociological study from the student's point of view, with a result that would mean great things not merely to social work, but to citizenship at large.

A suggestion that is unmistakably derived from the papers already accumulated by Mr. Kennedy is that they will, in a unique and highly rewarding way, give the teacher the cards in his hand as to the life background and real underlying mental habitat of each individual student, secured without arousing any undue self-consciousness on the part either of teacher or student. The process will thus tend to create that sufficiently confidential understanding between the two which is essential to good teaching, and opens so many avenues of influence on the whole conduct of life.

The increase of instruction in the elements of the social sciences in secondary schools suggests that the proposed method might very appropriately have its beginnings at

[1] "Mental Hygiene and Social Work." *Mental Hygiene*, July, 1918.

that stage of education. In high schools such an experiment would have some special points of significance. The student would learn to study the local community while living in it. The members of a class could piece together the town or city out of its constituent units. It might be possible for the instructor to help his students to make more of their part in local association. The great proportion of high-school graduates who go no farther with their education would have the clue to a first-hand interest in the public welfare.

It is without doubt true that mind is largely, if not wholly, a social product. Education, in all its branches, is being reconsidered under social tests, not only in its results, but in its procedure. The neighborhood is the characteristic unit of society at large. It is certainly the nestling-place of all that can make citizenship human. Can we in this day of the world train the new generation in an atmosphere where its potencies are ignored and contemned?

XVII

ACADEMIC EDUCATION AND COMMUNITY SERVICE[1]

One of the curious reactions of life at the settlements in the early days was a tendency to undervalue the importance of education in meeting the problems of working-class communities. This was, in a degree, the needed corrective to a tendency to overvalue the influence of culture. I remember at Toynbee Hall amusement was expressed at some of the sayings of Jowett, Master of Balliol College, Oxford, who often seemed to be Greek rather than Christian in this respect. He was accustomed to speak of "that greatest of God's gifts, education." I once heard him preach in Westminster Abbey a memorial sermon to three departed worthies, one of whom had been professor of New Testament Literature. After a somewhat lengthy outline of the marked intellectual traits of this professor, Jowett said, "All these things he had, as well as those virtues which are so admired."

Perhaps the chief cause of this somewhat cynical recoil on the part of the young collegian was the discovery that there were certain rugged phases of personal capacity and intellectual power possessed by working people which the academical education did not directly equip one to grapple with. Yet it remained true that the all-around ability to enter this strange world, face its complications, begin to analyze its problems, lay out varied plans toward meeting some of them, and then carry out those plans with consistency and persist-

[1] Abstract of an address before the Intercollegiate Community Service Association, formerly the College Settlements Association, which stands sponsor for several settlement houses in as many different cities. 1917.

ency was the distinctive and otherwise hardly attainable product of the educational process.

There was a certain chagrin in the discovery that the immediate subject-matter of the college course, which the original residents were so eager to impart, had practically no currency in the average working-class neighborhood. But time has shown that the whole of the developed scheme of settlement work, on one hand, calls for the best general preparation and, on the other, affords opportunity for all the educational insight and capacity which the resident may possess. The extent to which professional standards are to-day applied in social work, and even the new tendency to demand and to seek some sort of specific training for volunteer activity, all indicate a vastly heightened emphasis upon the necessity of a broad educational foundation in every new phase of human service.

This tendency has peculiar significance for the educated woman, as showing that wherever she may be there is to-day an insistent and inspiriting opportunity for the application of the best of her trained capacity to community problems. The new name of the Association with its broader implication may well signify that the motives and results which have been worked out in tenement neighborhoods, in the crowded sections of the large cities, are to be considered as laboratory results which are to be applied in every sort of normal community, whether urban, suburban, village or rural. The democracy of the future, to which we are all more deeply pledged than ever, must mean a fuller development everywhere of human values and human relations with all that can soften, refine, enrich, and ennoble them.

Democracy represents an increasing recoil against mere privilege, against the possession of resource which is unserviceable. We are likely to think that the obvious definition of the privileged class is, the rich. As a matter of fact,

the most highly privileged are not those who have money, but those who have the possession — above all price — of their full potential selves. This is what the higher education brings. College graduates are the people who, par excellence, have had the last exquisite results of civilization lavished upon them. It is indeed ludicrous to hear any man or woman fresh from college, with a weird sense of personal deprivation, talk about the privileged class, meaning the moneyed. Educational privilege represents a smaller, more restricted, and, in a sense, more exclusive, group than the rich. The number of college graduates in the country is about the same as the number of persons receiving incomes of four thousand dollars and over. But the great majority of those incomes stand for the maintenance of a family of several persons, while in a large proportion of cases a single family will include several individuals who have had the privilege of a college education. There would certainly be as many families having incomes of $8000 and upward as there were families including college graduates. But taking the country over, and considering communities of all sorts, the income standard for the rich would have to be set considerably lower than $8000. If a small number of the families of the country have a large share of the financial wealth, a still smaller group of families exploit its higher educational treasures. The number of those individuals who can fairly be included within the class called rich is substantially greater than the number of the college graduates.

The settlement represents this most highly and exclusively privileged of the aristocracies organizing a revolt against itself.

XVIII

MAKING A NEIGHBORHOOD OUT OF A LODGING–HOUSE SECTION

THE South End House has been engaged for twenty years in a unique experiment for applying settlement principles to work amid what is the largest compact lodging-house population in the country. This situation was first the object of careful study from many points of view by different residents of the house. The results of such study, amplified and coördinated by two years of first-hand local research, appeared in the first book in any language on the subject.[1] From that beginning there has developed an increasingly important department of settlement activity on the west side of the district.

This section of the South End was originally inhabited by the families of successful merchants. With the filling-in of the Back Bay, the tide of fashion turned strongly in that direction, and emptied out a region, half a mile long and a quarter of a mile across, of well-built, ample family residences. The only alternative use for them was that of boarding-houses. The boarding-houses soon began to lose their dining-rooms through the competition of the restaurants on the front streets. A little more gradually they lost their parlors, and the last semblance of home for the typical inhabitants under the new order was gone. The civic and moral status of the district declined with the economic.

Ten years' experience among the tenements of the district could indicate principles but lay down no recipes. Character and citizenship must be guided and reënforced by

[1] *The Lodging-House Problem in Boston.* By Albert B. Wolfe. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

bringing human relations to a vital, spontaneous pitch and shaping them when in such a receptive state. But the tenements provided the elemental relations of family and neighborhood. The lodging-house streets had only scattered rudiments of either kind of human tie. The compost from out of which alone normal personal morale and responsible citizenship could conceivably be nurtured was lacking from the start.

It became clear that there must be some sort of comprehensive foundation work which should underlay the situation with healthful, though necessarily artificial, kinds of association to take the place of the natural ones which were practically non-existent.

As would be expected, the first overture was made to the young men and women who were leading the lonely lodging-house existence. Efforts were made, and have continued to be made from that time to this, to organize them into clubs. But no great success has ever been achieved in this direction. In the tenement section, a long running start has been got with the young people during their childhood. Children are well-nigh unknown among the lodgings. Among the tenements acquaintance with the individual brings acquaintance with the family, and this in turn strongly reënforces the approach to the individual. There is only a trace of family structure in the lodging-house section. On the tenement side, when you pull one person, you draw with him a connected portion of the neighborhood fabric, a group of schoolmates and playmates, whose families have many and complex reciprocal interests. Among the lodgers, there is no such formation. When you draw the individual, he comes alone. He is not reënforced. Moreover, he is a recent comer; and, giving no hostages to fortune, may at any time depart.

Thus, from the point of view of a comprehensive pro-

gramme, the lodger himself had to be, on the whole, factored out, and reserved in hope for future approaches. The more immediate alternative was taken of a rapprochement with the lodging-house-keepers.

The first step in this direction was suggested by numerous struggling and irresponsible "room registries." Why not establish a room registry upon a business basis, so far as possible, but under a public-spirited motive and with a purpose of raising the general standards of this principal business of the district? An office set up for this purpose became the first organized project connected with a residential branch of the settlement located on a typical lodging-house street and in the heart of the lodging-house section. In due time, it came to have between one hundred fifty and two hundred houses on its list, each house being incited to maintain proper sanitary and moral standards. No very large number of lodgers are placed through the registry, but enough to make a place on the list seem desirable to the most responsible among the lodging-house-keepers. The listed houses are frequently visited; and, aside from direct information thus gained, a fairly detailed knowledge of conditions from street to street is gained, and kept up to date. For one thing this makes it possible to correct, from time to time, the lists of available lodgings that are kept by educational institutions and Christian associations. Every time such a list is gone over, the need for regular and careful scrutiny is clearly made evident.

The reënforcement brought to the better-disposed landladies is very real. Individually their experience was one of constant struggle against the competition of those who "ask no questions." The room registry creates a front of those who do ask questions, and continuously sustain one another in so doing. It was the first influence in the region to encourage the positively well-meaning to believe that it might be

possible that those who were with, were more than those that were against them.

The nucleus of persons with whom acquaintance was thus established were presently organized into a women's club, which ere long came to be recognized as one of the worthy units in its form of organization throughout the city. The club provides for and stimulates acquaintance and loyalty on the basis of the amenities of life; and thus creates some of that wholesome and vitalizing community solvent which the situation so peculiarly requires.

At about the same time, the South End Improvement Society was formed. It grew within a few years to a membership of between three and four hundred — women largely predominating, because both as householders and business people they play the principal part. The creation of a civic organization like this was beset with difficulty where local residents came and went through the streets like ghosts, knowing nobody and boasting of it; where every one suspected everybody else; where so many were here to-day and gone to-morrow. The sense of discouragement and defeat was everywhere.

After casting about in various directions, a clue appeared. It was based on the Shakespearean principle, "Out of this nettle, danger, we pluck this flower, safety." Out of the widespread pessimism with regard to local public interests and public service, a front could be created which might secure something like community action. A study was made of the chief grounds of complaint with regard to municipal laxity as it directly affected the local life. It appeared that among the lodging-house-keepers there was universal indignation at the failure of the sanitary division, and particularly with relation to such prosaic matters as ashes and garbage.

A meeting was arranged at which many of the indignant

ones could complain not only individually but in unison, and also at which they could converge their collective aim at the chief of the local division. He was a good-natured Irishman, and himself caught the Shakespearean strategy of the occasion by noting in his reply, when he finally had an opportunity to make one, that these complaints had the merit of being specific — on a particular day at three o'clock in the afternoon in such-and-such an alley back of number so-and-so on a certain street the driver of cart number fifty-one, etc. "Now," he said, "if you folks will send your complaints worded like that to this house, I will have a good man call each week, and we'll see what can be done."

The result was that things were done. The people found that in this way they did begin to count. They had entered the kindergarten of citizenship. The society began to grow and has continued its growth for fifteen years. Each year has put a new ring on the tree. Now there is a great improvement in the sewer system; now a marked reduction of smoke nuisance; now a gain in transit facilities; now an elaborate, pace-making clean-up; now a large achievement in the repaving of streets. Best of all is an increasingly settled spirit of mutual respect and confidence among a large and increasing number of local citizens. This result finds happy expression in friendly gatherings apart from regular business sessions: an annual banquet which has become a kind of ranking social event; an annual summer outing; occasional "cottage meetings" at which people from up and down the street gather at the invitation of some privileged person who still commands the use of a large parlor; many scattered gatherings of small groups, here and there, interested in adding to the membership or promoting some of the projects of the society; and, finally, occasional large dances which, it is hoped, may open the way to an inspiriting kind of "society" for the young men and women lodgers.

These three organizations, by creating many avenues for acquaintance and joint effort, made the lodging-house section very accessible to the various forms of organized effort which were made necessary by the war. This appeared on many occasions, but particularly during the coal famine when five hundred lodging-houses had to be provided from one center, a comprehensive scheme of equitable distribution built up, and a special delivery system organized. Through all the severe experiences that went with this situation there was a remarkable spirit of fair play, mutual concession, and common interest, which certainly could not have risen to the emergency without the team-play training which had come of appropriate forms of community-making enterprise.

The growth of sound common sentiment as to both the economic and the civic aspects of life in a lodging-house section was registered clearly during the war by a change in the local attitude toward the licensing of lodging-houses. Any such move had for a long time been stoutly resisted. The landlady went into the lodging-house business because it gave her a home, and to her mind, even though she lived herself in the basement, a somewhat impressive home. That home was her castle. She revolted against the thought of being periodically called upon by the police.

It had long been felt at the South End House that the licensing of lodging-houses was a broad logical conclusion to which study and experience inevitably led, and that it would be a help and a protection, rather than a detriment, to the well-disposed lodging-house-keeper. When, therefore, the National Government began to institute measures for the protection of the morals and health of the army and navy, it was suggested to proper authorities at Washington by a representative of the House that the licensing of lodging-houses, ensuring proper supervision, surveillance, and in-

spection, would be one effective measure toward the end in view. This suggestion was acted upon by officers of the army and navy, who urged upon the Governor and Legislature of Massachusetts the passage of the necessary statute. The support of the lodging-house-keepers for this measure became available, first, because they understood that the Government wished it as an expedient toward protecting soldiers and sailors on their way to war; secondly, because, on account of the origin of the proposal, they could see clearly that the licensing system would constitute a strong protection for them against the competition of houses with low moral standards. No difficulties arose in connection with the establishment of the new order of things, and the best landladies are fully satisfied with the licensing principle. This marks the creation of a really broad front, under governmental auspices, for a sound vocational consciousness and a proper ethical standard as affecting what is characteristically at once the business and the housing system of this part of the city.

The new foothold thus gained was soon taken advantage of by the organization of the Rooming House Association. Landladies complained that lodgers, while receiving greatly increased incomes, were unwilling to pay higher room rent. If a move was made to raise the rent, the reply was that a room could be had across the street at the current rate. It was suggested to the landladies that they must come together, and, with the permission of the Council of Public Safety, agree on reasonable rates under the changed conditions. Some two hundred lodging-house-keepers were included in the first membership list, most of them not connected with the groups already mentioned; and this number has been steadily maintained. The readjustment of rates was efficiently worked out, to the great satisfaction of the members. Steps were taken to put the organization defi-

nitely in line to reënforce the best standards of house administration as set by voluntary or municipal action. The meetings of the Association soon brought out helpful discussion among the members about the intelligent conduct of their business as such. Presently a system was instituted for the coöperative purchase of all household supplies; and this project has gone far enough so that a small coöperative store, which will carry definitely needed stocks and have the loyal adhesion of a definite constituency, is being developed.

These different South End organizations are subject to great limitations of resource, personnel, and leadership; but they all continue to give promise of good service. They suffer under the distinctive handicap of strangers in the city, hesitation to trust one another. Many non-members are unable to recognize anything that the organizations have ever done for the district. But there are not a few of those that have trusted and labored who are satisfied that these agencies have brought the lodging-house section to a decisive turn in its affairs and are definitely the means through which it is, as a whole, rising to better things.

The new community spirit will secure a fuller appropriation of two of the gains that have come with the war period. Prohibition greatly reduces the threat of prostitution in a situation where once it was rampant. The South End organizations create a permeating and comprehensive vigilance system, with its responsible representatives on every block, to see that this evil is constantly anticipated and continuously attacked. Woman suffrage — in a district with a marked predominance of women numerically, where they are the voters that represent the vested interests, and where not a few of them have already had years of training in organization, and particularly in connection with the Improvement Society — is already, in marked degree, increasing local civic consciousness and power.

The right sort of provision for meeting directly the associational needs of the lodgers must wait for greater reenforcements of every sort from outside the district. The supply of these must depend upon the realization on the part of downtown commercial employers that the task of the South End is definitely a problem, of which, if they were each with his own personnel in a separate community, they would necessarily carry the responsibility. They have shown that they can grasp the idea when it is presented to them in the shape of great buildings, which all together can house but a small fraction of the homeless commercial wage-earners. The effort is to show them that it amounts to vastly more to get underneath the whole situation, to surround it in on every side, to raise the standard of living economically and morally for all concerned, to make every lodging-house something of a home, and support every landlady in being the house-mother.[1]

[1] Further developments in this branch of work are treated in three articles by Eleanor H. Woods in *Current Affairs*, the organ of the Boston Chamber of Commerce, for August 28, September 4 and 22, 1922.

XIX

THE CITY AND ITS LOCAL COMMUNITY LIFE [1]

THE essence of citizenship is fellow-citizenship, the sentiment of which emerges instinctively in local assemblies. It is in these, says de Tocqueville, that the strength of free nations lies. A new realization has come over our cities of the possibilities and power of that neighborly bond by which the most disintegrated and unlikely population groups can rise into a kindling sense of being one people.

Amid the depression following the Civil War, the agencies of charity were baffled by the cumulative growth of their problem even as they worked at it. Forty years ago they proceeded in the larger cities to decentralize their services according to well-defined community units. The municipal reformers found that their attack could not penetrate the solid ranks of the voters. Twenty-five years ago a new sort of local leadership, coming in from without, established itself among these hereditary villagers in the form of neighbors making common cause, but with a large civic purpose. From this overture date all plans for the reorganization of neighborhood life in the crowded quarters of our great cities.

As a result of such approach and endeavor, the city-wide services of health and education are having an appeal far more pervasive in its scope and more human in its quality. This general tendency is expressing itself more and more clearly in all the great subdivisions of social work. The demands of thoroughgoing technical achievement, the constant urgency toward securing finished and exhaustive

[1] Chairman's address, Section on the Local Community, National Conference of Social Work, Pittsburgh, 1917.

results, is leading the various centrally organized services to penetrate and reach out in every direction into the life of local districts. On the other hand, those who, as more general practitioners, are working upon the local community structure from within and seeking to knit together its human relationships, more and more find in the local application of these various services the material through which they can make their most definite and substantial gains. Their actuating impulse, however, is distinctive. They constitute a kind of discipleship intent on including every creature.

One of our leading experts in the field of public health has recently said that he regretted that any such phrase was ever coined. His point was that it is becoming so increasingly clear that permanent and assured progress in public health can come only through the kind of effort which carries into the midst of neighborhood and family circles. It is for this reason that neighborhood agencies of all sorts are equipping themselves for spreading a thoroughgoing contagion of hygienic knowledge. The problem of the care of infant life, that of family nutrition, of the prevention of infectious disease, rest increasingly with that conspiracy of working-class motherhood, that glorified neighborhood gossip of the tenements, which to those who are privileged to know represents one of the biggest potential forces in city life.

Public school education presupposes the coöperation of the normal home and community. The presumption that there are reënforcing educational agencies in the background is at the foundation of our whole system of public education. The default of such coöperation was one of the chief indications that called for the settlement in the beginning. The settlement visitor, undertaking to restore to home and neighborhood its educational function and thus correct the crushing burden of responsibility that had been shifted upon the public school, was the prototype of the school visitor who

must be as fully versed in neighborhood knowledge as is the teacher in that of the schoolroom.

It will be found that this same logic holds with regard to the administration of great bodies of employees. It is one of the interesting conclusions now coming from the work of vocational instruction and guidance that for successful results it must depend in a considerable degree upon inside acquaintance with leisure-time tendencies and pursuits. Historically, the apprenticeship period has found the young recruit in a combination of relations and responsibilities that include both the shop and the home. There is an increasing tendency among discerning employers toward finding the right way of being informed about, and exerting helpful influence upon, the background of the life of the employee. This attitude is clearly understood where an industrial establishment is the central fact and force in a given isolated community. The more subtle analysis shows that the principle holds good even in the large city where the employed force scatters after hours into many different neighborhoods. Amid all the complications of a great industrial or commercial establishment, the power on the part of the employee to make the needed adjustments is seen to go with the whole set of circumstances amid which he has his walk and conversation. The officers of a street railroad in Philadelphia have recently decided that none of its force shall be discharged until all the facts are in hand with regard to his home and neighborhood relations.

Particularly with young working people does everything depend upon whether, after the burden and tension of the day, the evening finds them in a network of helpful gayety with a sufficient touch of friendly surveillance, or out amid all the allurement of commercialized amusements. It is established tradition that the responsible guardian of youth should seek to keep them away from harmful associations.

The increasing sense of concern for the entire number of the boys and girls of the city is finally disposing of any merely negative policy, and is leading to thorough measures toward making the collective interplay of each neighborhood as a whole safe for its growing life. This result, by the creation of a united front of responsible neighbors throughout the city, is tending to sustain the forces of righteousness in insisting that the city shall no longer anywhere tolerate the systematic corruption of young men and women by several Satanic forms of business.

The organization of charity by districts is increasingly seeking to widen its range in the endeavor to solve family problems, by following up the avenues of influence that relate the home to the neighborhood. Societies for the protection of children, as well as the juvenile court and its probation officers, take account of the detailed and distinctive tendencies of each subdivision of the general community which they cover. As these agencies dealing with results of social breakdown bring back to each neighborhood the decisive effects of its bad conditions, the responsible local leaders get new clues and fateful warnings to urge them forward in making their community morally safe for its young life.

As for the victims of the dark forces, the institutional services of city and State for the care of the dependent, defective, and delinquent types, are placing more and more reliance upon each local community. Incipient tendencies to degeneracy are prevented from reaching the institutional stage by creating a more favoring community environment. The physical or moral convalescent is carefully rearticulated into his appropriate background of relationships. It is for the neighborhood worker to follow up the follow-up — first, by taking up the case where the institutional field officer leaves it, and, secondly, by striving in every way to make the neigh-

borhood a place in which such cases will no longer be produced. The time must come when each neighborhood will be pervaded with the purpose by local effort to recover those who tend to fall behind in the struggle, and continuously to anticipate and intercept the sapping of physical and moral power.

The motive of neighborhood reconstruction has had its coherent embodiment in the work of the settlements of which there are now more than five hundred in American cities. Of recent years it has begun to have a broad expansion through school and community centers and district improvement societies. These later developments are in nearly every case much less thorough in their range of service and have a much lighter touch upon family and neighborhood affairs than does the well-organized settlement house. They can, however, reach a larger number of people. They often have behind them public initiative and resource. It has always been understood that the settlement was an experiment station and an object lesson. As such, the necessity of it amid so many fresh enterprises will be greater than ever. But the widest dissemination of the spirit of the settlement lies not with it so much as with these newer tendencies which to so large an extent have grown out of it.

In neighborhoods without resourceful citizens, resident initiative in responsible democratic action must continue to be brought in from without, after the manner of the settlements. In many other cases there will have to be imported leadership; but it must always become thoroughly naturalized and assimilated. The time is coming when there will not only be masterful but worthy leaders in our city districts who are to the local manner born. Lessons which have been learned in relatively neglected neighborhoods are passing in comprehensive fashion to those more well-to-do. In some of our cities we begin to have active, productive bodies

of local citizens in every considerable section of the urban territory, which are gradually concentrating the federated power of neighborhood democracy upon the city government. The organic conception of the city is slowly becoming established, that of a cluster of interlacing communities, each having its own vital ways of expression and action, but all together creating the municipality which shall render the fullest service through the most spirited participation of all its citizens.

The neighborhood is the ultimate testing-place of all social remedies and reforms. It is the unit of measurement over against which in detail they must all be set. When the city plan ceases being merely, or even chiefly, a matter of architecture, it must begin to shape itself from locality to locality upon the common round of life.

The President of the United States has called the entire people of the country into the National service. Mr. Hoover has stated that every housewife in the country will be asked to become part of the National Food Administration. The Red Cross is proposing to include every neighborhood and every township in its great organization. These tendencies indicate the scope and the minuteness with which the real patriotism of present and future must be applied. A sound estimate of probable National burdens calls absolutely for a thorough and effectual gathering of forces in every local community. In some hundreds of city neighborhoods and districts, more or less resourceful in themselves, the systematic combination of forces is ready. It may be that what has been achieved under the pressure of internal danger to democracy may, by direct action and the indirect extension of influence, be of indispensable service in strengthening the Nation to ward off the attack upon freedom from without, and to do its full part in the world reconstruction that is to follow.

XX

THE STATE AS THE GREAT COMMUNITY[1]

THE unit which we social workers refer to most often as being our primary base of operations, is the neighborhood, the local community, the city district, the village. For a hundred years now, Thomas Chalmers' "principle of locality," which he, with profound insight and foresight, developed as the starting-point for the constructive upbuilding of city and Nation, has been the watchword of certainly all such social work as sends its influences out into the general community. The whole scheme of the organization of charity — not only in the English-speaking countries, but in Germany itself — is deeply indebted to that Scottish minister. In the local community we find the basis for a great variety and complexity of human service. We find that its upbuilding has become a common interest among many different social agencies. But there is a very important part of the essential service of the local community which cannot be carried out within that unit; you have got to go out through the city as a whole, you have got to go out through the State as a whole in order to accomplish some of the results that you desire, first of all, for your own neighborhood.

It is the experience of those of us at work in the cities that the city is often not so much the large community unit of the social worker as is the State. From that point of view, I consider it an especial privilege that the first exercise of the functions of this responsible office to which I have been

[1] Address given, in course of official visits as president of the National Conference of Social Work, before the State Conferences of Indiana, Iowa, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Missouri, and Massachusetts. 1917–18.

called consists in visits to four great States of the Middle West, to the State Conferences of Indiana, Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Iowa. I think of those four States as being, in a very real way, the most representative of the American States; and one reason for this is because they do not have within their borders any of the very great cities. A great city, simply from the fact of the vast range of interests it includes within its bounds, is likely to be an extremely provincial place. I am inclined to feel that while our scheme of social work receives tremendous incitement from the large cities, we have to charge up against them many limitations and handicaps upon it. In a State which has the whole variety of community life graded upon a logical scale — the city, with all that goes to make up the best life of the city; the suburban communities, the villages and towns, and the townships of the open country — you get the full combination of social interests and of social forces. That is the kind of combination which, more and more, our State Conferences are representing.

The State Conferences, by a strong, deep-seated tradition, are not to be considered as bodies that will create a programme and can pledge their members to any form of specific action; and yet the State Conferences — and this is true of the National Conference also — are bodies which meet not merely for scattered deliberation; they meet for business, they meet to bring about practical results. Simply because their scope is so wide, because their membership is so inclusive, they are not authorized to crystallize and congeal their discussions into specific propositions; but the unmistakable results of the suggestion and moral momentum of the State Conferences are always found in the initiation and considered working out of many advanced projects of public and private service.

Let no one think, therefore, that the State Conference is

merely a sort of forum. It is a very practical form of organization, and throughout the country to-day is accomplishing the most important practical results. The conference represents a great federated community, an organic combination of local communities of all sorts, each of them beginning to meet its new local problems, and all of them coming to pool their interests, results, experiences, and resources into a great State system.

It is one of the most inspiring facts about this country that we have these forty-eight Commonwealths, all engaged in experimenting with social legislation. More and more that social legislation is being developed by consultation and conciliation among all parties at interest. I think that when we come into the State unit we are more likely to get a process of consolidated action, and less likely to create, in our efforts toward social legislation and governmental action, that sort of social warfare which, in its way, is just as bad as international warfare. It should be one of our great objects, looking forward in the future, that just as we are striving to bring international warfare to an end by this great war, so we should begin to learn and apply methods by which social warfare shall be brought to an end.

The workmen's compensation law is highly valuable in its direct result; but it is like some of our great industries which gradually come to have by-products that are worth more than the original product. To my mind the by-product of workmen's compensation is even more important than the direct result. This was the first piece of social legislation to be carried through in this country by the coöperation of all parties concerned. The employers, the workmen, and representatives of the public deliberated over that matter. They potentially eliminated the causes of friction; they set the possibility of conflict and ugly feeling behind them; and the result was that we put down on our statute books an out-

come which, of itself and for the future, gives great promise of a peaceful way of working out our social problems. That sort of thing, I believe, is much more possible in the State than in the city unit. In the city we have very sharp cleavages of wealth and poverty and deeply emphasized differences of race and religion. In meeting as members of a great Commonwealth, with its broad human perspectives, these distinctions are not nearly so marked.

In the present universal effort on the part of social workers to bring their forms of service to the fullest patriotic significance, toward carrying the war to a successful conclusion, we are seeing the possibilities of organized coöperation among social forces in ways which we had not before thought possible.

And it is just there, I think, that we catch the new note in social work. It may perhaps be suggested by the contrast between what might be called the inside and the outside point of view; between the idea of developing a center from which one pushes out only by such momentum as he can create within the center itself, as against that of also going out to the circumference and patiently working back toward the center, going out to the edge of every community and trying to get a mental and moral grasp of its whole problem. Those of us who make up our minds that we are going to do this — who highly resolve that we will stake out the whole job and never be satisfied until we have at least corraled it and begun to follow its large outlines, will have what constitutes the great inspiration of social work. When we realize that, under the demands of the war, for the first time, a social programme has been mapped out to include every local community and every household in the country — and to a very considerable extent that programme is being carried out and is going to be carried out over and over again — we can see that the National Govern-

ment is to-day conducting, on a great scale, an undertaking in social work in which every thoughtful person in the country is a conscious factor. We can discern immense new possibilities in the way of bringing to pass our varied programmes, new possibilities of social organization and social legislation, resulting from the Nation-wide educational process of the war period.

Now, under ordinary circumstances the largest community unit upon which, let us say, as a psychological matter, it is possible for us to focus our mental vision, is the State. There is a psychology about these things. Mr. Graham Wallas tells us that as a matter of mental power there is a limit to the number of friends any person can have, and he for himself tentatively has set that number at thirty-five.[1] I don't know how he got that figure, but that lies in his mind as the basis of the larger human relationship for him — that he can have thirty-five good friends. It is easy to see that there is a limit of mental power and resource in making and maintaining a circle of friendship. There is a certain psychological limit in the matter of our community reach and grasp. I don't think many of us can yet satisfactorily conceive of the nature of the city from the big point of view of our social work interests; but during these twenty-five years, during the period through which the State Conferences have been developing, it has gradually become possible for us to cerebrate in terms of the State, and we are beginning now definitely to apply our motives better in terms of the State than of the city. The State — which is wrought together of villages and neighborhoods in a wholesome sort of way — we can negotiate that conception. We can grasp it from the legislative point of view. It is quite clear that social work in general is more affected by State issues than by either municipal or National issues. I think you will find, as our interests be-

[1] See *The Great Society*, p. 333. New York: Macmillan Co. 1914.

come more fully public, that there will be more concern among us as to matters of State legislation and administration than as to any other phase of governmental activity.

There lies here a very definite, practicable basis upon which we social workers can all combine our interests. Take the National Conference — there have, from time to time, grown up certain group distinctions. There have been the State Boards, a group by themselves; and they have sometimes felt aloof from those connected with the Associated Charities. Then, again, those who are interested especially in institutional work have been in a group by themselves, and occasionally have felt that their interests were quite distinct from those of the local social workers. When we come to the State as the great community in which we are all interested, we begin to see a workable basis upon which we all have perfectly definite reciprocal interests, and the kind of reciprocal interests that are constantly coalescing and becoming single interests.

Let me illustrate: One of the great notes to-day in institutional work is that of follow-up; the carrying of the work of the institution, of the lessons imparted by it, of the technique it has developed, out into the open community — into the life of the home, the workshop, and the church. The follow-up method brings the institution directly in touch and into relations with the local social worker. To-day one of our most important considerations is, how about the follow-up of the follow-up? Who, throughout the State, is going to take care of the physical or moral convalescent after the field officers of the institution have necessarily to let go? That is one of the important challenges that is facing the Associated Charities worker, the settlement worker, the responsible local citizen — how they shall equip themselves to take up the responsibility where the after-care work of the institution leaves it.

That situation is interesting in more ways than one. It is found, as a matter of experience on the part of the local social worker, that he often can learn some entirely new and vital points about the life of the particular little community in which he may have lived, ten or twenty-five years, from the follow-up institutional work and from the amount of experience that it has been necessary to go through with the particular physical or moral case which the institution has been handling. As a settlement worker, I learned some of the most vital things about my neighborhood by serving on the jury. There were some things I never knew about, and some things about which I never had the proper perspective. There was a kind of feeling about the neighborhood which I never had been conscious of, until I had spent six weeks on the criminal jury. This suggests the sort of experience that every local social worker is going to have as he comes in contact with the State institution; and I am convinced that during the next few years we shall see the perfect bridge between those two departments of social work which have often found themselves miles apart. That bridge comes into existence almost of itself when we consider ourselves as being followers of different specialties that are involved in very vital ways in the affairs of the large and inclusive community.

I believe the time is coming when we are going to have new forms of census; a more discerning as well as more sympathetic method of taking the census of States. I am one of the trustees of the Massachusetts State Hospital for Inebriates; and I have been hoping for the last few years that the time might soon come when we, as a board of trustees, would have ways of getting information from every community throughout the State of the kinds of men, and women too, who ought to be receiving the care of this special hospital. We are approaching the time when we shall have a census

of the feeble-minded like that; and in many other directions we are going to gather information as to human interests from the whole of our great State communities. As we become intelligent enough to do this, we can then begin in a real sort of way to take up the problems of the State as a whole; to measure all our schemes of social work against the ascertained and assembled facts of the entire State situation.

It is certain that during the next few years we shall be compelled to show, in community terms, that social work is making good. If for no other reason, the rising cost of maintaining private and public social agencies will precipitate that test upon us. That is a test which I believe we are all going to welcome. We ought in fact to do everything we can to precipitate it, to go out to welcome it. I am satisfied that we are going to be able to meet the test. Take the matter of the care of infant life; there are many communities — some of the most unpromising sections in our biggest cities — where the programme for the conservation of infant life carried on during the last ten years is already showing astonishing results. A few years ago the settlements began to have the happiness of observing a new and better type of child coming out of pretty much the same kind of, and often the very same, families as before, and that result was traced directly to organized pre-natal care of motherhood and provision for infant hygiene in their neighborhoods. This summer I went to visit a camp which the South End House has had for some years where we have about a hundred boys for all summer. It happened that I had not been up there for two years. I said to my colleague in charge of the camp, "These boys look more wholesome than those of former years." They were younger boys than usual; the older boys had positions in the city. He said: "They are different; they are more tractable and reasonable, and happier.

They respond better to their duties; they enter actively into the system of self-government in every respect; they are better human beings." Those boys of eleven or twelve years of age were the full first fruits of the system of infant care, of medical inspection in the public schools, and the extension in various ways of the medical and nursing services. That is just the slightest suggestion of the way in which we are going to prove our case when this most exacting challenge comes upon us; and it indicates the great new opportunity that lies before social workers as they commit themselves thoroughly to this outdoor point of view, and no longer allow themselves to be satisfied with that sort of comfort that comes from getting everything well greased and well organized within the little circle of one particular institution or one particular community center and then gradually losing the capacity for assuming the great problems within the wide horizon.

How are we going to have forces sufficient to reach out and cover so great a territory? How is it going to be possible for us to rise to the height of our argument, and the breadth and depth of it? During the past ten years we have been working on one side of our problem of man and woman power by developing in a higher degree the training of the professional. We see to-day all over the country schools for the preparation of the vocational social worker. This has been a profoundly important development, with meaning for the present and future that can hardly be overstated; but along with it has come about, rather unfortunately, a tendency to think less of the value of the work of the volunteer, of the meaning and significance of the amateur spirit. One great blessing that has come with the tragedy of the war has been the contagion of volunteer service of all sorts. In the coming years our whole system of social organization must be renewed and revitalized, under the pressure of our own problems and under the incitement of European meas-

ures of reconstruction. The only way in which we shall be able to meet the new demands of State and Nation is through taking full advantage of the splendid increase in the volunteer spirit, through many new ways of recognizing the volunteer, and through bold departures in volunteer training.

As we look out into the future we ask ourselves — considering the overwhelming losses that the Western world is suffering at the present moment — what has Western civilization in reserve? What assets has it to levy upon in order to begin to make good these losses? If we consider the various fields of life, I think it will be out of no spirit of partiality to the interests with which we are engaged that we shall find the new potentialities, the promise of new riches, new fulfillment of life, in the field that has been opened up by social work. The technique that has been learned, the spirit developed, and the motive aroused in connection with this scientific, humanized service, seen in its fullest perspective and widest scope, represents the greatest possibility in the way of helping the world to make good the incalculable total of life and of treasure which has been lost through this great war.

XXI

THE REGIMENTATION OF THE FREE[1]

THE National Conference a year ago placed itself in the fullest accord with the Government in the war for elemental justice between the nations. In this great and terrible day, at what seems more nearly the crisis of the world than any other moment in history, it meets again with a still more distinct and ruling purpose. It seeks to gather all the resources that it can represent for their maximum contribution to the great cause which has become none other than that of world-wide humanity.

Extraordinary incitement has come to all our loyal forces as the breadth and profound significance of their service has been more surely realized. At first they seemed like merely moderating and assuaging influences, designed to reduce somewhat the roughness of preparations for war, and the misery and horror accompanying its prosecution. Soon it began to be proved that very many of them, whether or not associated directly with the army and navy or with the industries serving the armed forces, were able to make material, structural contributions to the actual organization and promotion of the war itself. The truth has been rediscovered and far more broadly applied, which was first fully brought to light by Florence Nightingale in the Crimean War, that "the cause of humanity is identified with the strength of armies."

One of the deepest cleavages between the two great groups of warring powers to-day comes of the fact that the Western

[1] President's address, National Conference of Social Work, previously National Conference of Charities and Correction, Kansas City, 1918. A summary and estimate of social work in relation to the nation at war.

Allies are pledged to the principle, that not only is the aggressively humanized process of war the only sort consistent with twentieth-century civilization, but that it represents the truly discerning path of national military achievement. The whole process of preparing for and prosecuting war as practiced by the Germans is based on the unconscionable theory that, apart from the most obvious considerations, humanitarian motives are to be relentlessly excluded. The United States is going to make the final surge which will decide the war in favor of liberty and humanity. America will carry to the highest emphasis the kind of warfare which includes the varied results of our National scheme of social work as turned so comprehensively to National service. Among the implications to be projected by the right issue of the war into the future will be a wholly new conviction of the achieving power of the widening subject-matter of this conference.

Social work, on the other hand, is to-day hardened and sharpened by the inflexible resolve to which the democratic nations are committed. It must do its part with the celerity, the precision, the carried-through effectualness which war demands. It must go forward steeled to its purpose no less surely than if its personnel were fighting at the front. For years those nearest like-minded to ourselves in Germany, when they thought with free minds, have clearly recognized that their only hope lay in an unsuccessful war. We can see now that this has been the fact, so far as Germany is concerned; and, as by the falling of scales from our eyes, we realize that the chance of what to us is human progress lies only in pushing forward every needful military measure toward the overthrow of German autocracy. It is even true that humanitarian democracy, in the light of the real character and power of German militarism, may become more deeply involved in a policy of war to the bitter end than any other body of opinion and sentiment.

It is in marked fulfillment of our hopes that as, under this ultimate conviction, the Nation has been summoned to its varied duty in the promotion and reënforcement of the war, such deep dependence has been placed upon the agencies represented in the conference. Gladly rendering their contribution to the ranks of the armed forces, to the immediately related services, to the departments of the Government and the National and State Councils of Public Defense, they have also in no slight degree provided the framework by which the civilian life of the Nation has been brought together into a great system wholly unexampled in the history of the country and representing an achievement on the part of the American people which, in the light of all the facts, is as considerable as the gathering, equipping, and training of the armies themselves. "The stupendous organization of the Nation for relief and social service" is a fact which, from the distinctive point of view of this conference, is quite overwhelming in its significance and potency. That so vast social energies can be elicited and assembled and — under the American principle of "governing partly by administration, partly by liberty" — so converged upon the immeasurable but enthralling task, is a matter to be recorded in a whole new chapter of the evolution of our democracy.

For some years previous to the war period there has been an encouraging tendency on the part of our social agencies, public and private, to combine their forces for more economic and more productive service. This tendency has greatly aided in preparing them for meeting the vast challenge of the present. Through city federations, State leagues, municipal and State boards of control, and through several hundred National organizations for which the National Conference serves in some part as clearing-house, the beginnings were wrought out of such a National synthesis

as peace no less than war demands. The steadily increasing tendency on the part of all our philanthropic organizations to set their activities over against the needs and possibilities of the objective community, has been broadening and deepening the plan and purpose of each, and bringing all into the sense of a great common cause. It is true that the marked progress of recent years among the churches, away from sectarianism and toward unity, has come about largely through the pressure upon all alike of the outside world. In the same way the keen isolations which have often existed among social workers are beginning to disappear as the community is a more and more important watchword among us all. Emphasis upon such tendencies beyond our power to realize is being piled up by the war, as they rise through the hierarchy of neighborhood, city, State, Nation. Then comes the response to the wider call of a great brotherhood of nations. In particular do we all find a sense of inescapable fellowship with those who, principally in the name of the Red Cross, have gone from among us to rescue Belgium from starvation, to minister to immortal France, to bring help and confidence to Italy at the moment of her military disaster, and to be integrated into service for the American army abroad as it grows toward its full and decisive power.

The process of the war has meant to nearly all social agencies in common a readjustment as radical as that which any of our business organizations have undergone. A large proportion of the young men of their staffs have gone gladly into the fighting ranks. A host of young women have volunteered for service behind the front, and a greater number are ready on call. Many of our experienced leaders have at a moment's notice left their established posts and carried their special skill and training into fields connected with the reënforcement or the recuperation of the army. Here, too, many

others await only the summons of duty before choosing service having some more immediate bearing upon the urging forward of the war.

From three of our great fields of activity there have been drawn not only a large number of individuals but important fabrics of tradition and going concern. The American Red Cross has naturally wrought into its inherent organization those physicians and nurses who have been most closely associated with the interests of the National Conference. But an even more suggestive fact is that at home and in considerable measure abroad it owes its remarkable balance, its thorough preparedness, and its preliminary record of achievement, to the fact that it has appropriated and pieced together great sections of the system reaching throughout the country for the organization of charity. No more serious test of any voluntary agency has ever been made, and none so quickly and soundly responded to. In a newer department of war service, the administrative forces of the Playground and Recreation Association are finding the culmination of their motive in being so largely absorbed into the services of the army.[1] They are undertaking, with the help of representatives of our neighborhood centers, to protect and enhance the morale and buoyant spirit of the soldiers, not merely as men but as fighting units — a remarkable application to the prosecution of war of a principle in social construction which the last decade or two has been developing under the lead of our newer agencies of social work. Perhaps most striking of all is the complete absorption into the uniformed ranks of the greater part of the staff of the National associations for mental hygiene and for social hygiene, undertakings of only a few years' standing, whose very vocabulary could not have had currency a decade ago; with profound emancipating results not only for the virile

[1] See next paper.

tone and effective standards of the army and navy, but toward a permanent higher level of stamina and sentiment in our communities and throughout the Nation from this time forward.

Within similar close range of the foremost problems of sufficiency at war lies the service to the Government of not a few of those men from business organizations on the one hand, and from the universities on the other, who, as volunteers, are acquitting themselves in a spirit of which the whole Nation is proud. Many of them already in the past have been of our fellowship. It is a fair question whether all of them have not acted in part but indefinitely under an impulse which the volunteer in social work has largely served to create. In not a few instances, particularly where new and complicated labor problems in munition work and shipbuilding have to be solved, they are within a field toward which the more recent development of interest in the conference strongly runs.

To many of us those who make a clean and sharp diversion of their services toward the support of the actual fighting forces are objects of envy. Men and women responsibly bound up with our regular agencies and continuous programmes are facing anxious personal problems amid the claims of the war. It sometimes seems that there should be a universal draft, and that we all should be assigned to such duty as the exigent needs of the hour demanded. With regard to doctors and nurses a situation is fast developing in which some balance will have to be set between the call from the front and the necessities of some of our local communities. Possibly a priority board could be created which could establish certain general principles through which convincing decisions could be made between the relative claims of the military and affiliated service on the one hand, and of the maintenance of the vitality and morale of the sustaining

home forces on the other. Let it be clearly understood, in any case, that the imperative quality of the challenge to personal purpose grows cumulatively stronger as it comes from points nearer and nearer the front. All the benefit of the doubt goes in that direction. Our regular agencies, and the individuals that constitute them, must be prepared, even above others, on due occasion, gladly to make every last sacrifice for the sake of that final onset and tilt of military action which will bring the victory of honor and right.

"These ought ye to have done, but not to leave the other undone." Answering without stint to the call of the most aggressive military preparation and movement, but drawing on those still vast reserves of personal and material resources that are being devoted to things not indispensable to the normal life, our regular agencies hold an indisputable claim for the steady continuance of nearly all of their accustomed work of community protection and upbuilding. During the stretch of time through which the war must continue in order to save the country, the country must be maintained. It must place close after the claims of the war itself the demands which the very tragedy of the war makes upon us of preparedness for the period of reconstruction. But there is a more imminent right than these by which many of our agencies have won an inwrought place in the system of the war itself.

Herbert Spencer says: "The process of militant organization is a process of regimentation which, primarily taking place in the army, secondarily affects the whole community." The first somewhat sporadic challenge to community regimentation came from the social workers who, from within the army system, sought to secure wholesome recreational standards for the soldiers, and began from that point of view to test and challenge the civilian order of things. The whole mood and front of the armed forces in

these respects has begun to register the result impressively; and through the quick and sure response of many of our community agencies, it has been the occasion of a new and better order of things affecting the restraint of the liquor trade and of prostitution, and the promotion in the interest of the soldier and sailor of many old and new forms of health-giving community recreation. There has been remarkable depth and subtlety to that response as its scope has widened. In no previous decade, certainly in no previous generation, would it have been possible that every nook and corner of our cities would have been under the close, responsible, friendly surveillance of men and women representing much that is best in our National life — that in this way the dangers to a nation at war coming from nests of dissipation, of contagious disease, of crime, of disloyalty, of espionage, of actual resistance to the Government, could be everywhere effectively minimized.

Suggestive of a true National collectivism has been the universal reply of our varied agencies in every city and town where deliberate social work exists, to the all-inclusive, Nation-wide appeals and demands that the war has made. There can be but few of the thousands of organizations and institutions represented in the conference which have not been more or less deeply and inevitably involved in the interpretation of the American purpose to our immigrant groups, in the adjustment of the heavy, endless problems that came with the draft, in local service more or less closely connected with the Red Cross, in the house-to-house campaign of education in food conservation, and in the organization of the local supply and delivery of coal. The first canvass in connection with the food conservation campaign, in which the task was to enlist every housewife in the country as a member of the National Food Administration, made the most remarkable educational round-up which the United

States has ever seen. Mr. Hoover has said that the results of this and the later phases of his programme indicate an altogether gratifying capacity of our people for a practically unanimous response to a universal summons. It is needless to say that so great an enterprise was directed and led after the manner and spirit of social work, not only in its large bearings, but in the minute detail of individual interpretation and stimulus.

It was the preparedness of that National army of the constructive humanities of which this conference is the exponent that largely not only made possible a National community formation for the more obvious needs and purposes of war, but served to precipitate a new and special sentiment of solidarity, a new consciousness of vast associated power for human ends in relation to the war, in the minds of the American people. This result has been confirmed in the recognition on the part of National and State Councils of Defense that an important source of the collective energies which they are so successfully drawing out and harnessing, lies in the agencies of social work. This has been especially true of the services of women in these branches of the National war-time administration. Largely taken from the ranks of organizations already practiced in community betterment, they have followed out the standards set for the simpler undertakings of the women of the United States Sanitary Commission in the Civil War, who promised that supplies "should be sent forward abundantly, persistently, and methodically," and performed what they promised.

With a measure of combined gratification and wonder we look at much that has been brought about through the downright application of democratic intelligence to our several war-time industrial issues. On the whole the contention of the social workers — in the light of English experience — that lowered standards for the protection of working condi-

tions meant the decrease of National power in the National crisis, has been satisfactorily supported and acted upon. While a proper balance between wages and prices on the average has not been reached, we have seen the general recognition of the necessity of scaling wages up and of preventing the rise in living costs, which represents a principle that from now on can never fade out of our National life. The generous, unfailing provision for the men of the army and navy and their families, the scheme of Government-aided insurance which has so appealed to their self-respect and gives so much promise of protecting the Nation from the evils of a pension system — represent the working-out of those elements of economic justice with economic responsibility which are expressed in the maxims of enlightened social work.

It is a quite thrilling aspect of the situation that just when in many different ways — including a cumulative tax on incomes — the principle is being established in terms of general sentiment and conviction that those who have much must reduce their scale of living, it is at the same time considered axiomatic that those whose standard is below normal must rise in the scale for the general good. We are like those that dream as we see the valleys begin to be exalted, the hills begin to be brought low — not by the action of bitter and venomous cross-purposes, but under the united challenge of a Nation unselfishly pledged to the triumph of world-democracy.

The war is our absorbing interest and pursuit. But we also have a Nation soon to be guided through the vast uncertainties of an era of elemental world reconstruction. In the very midst of our immediate pressing concerns the question keeps rising: If all these things are now so possible, so well-nigh achieved — the regularization of employment, the establishment of a minimum status of well-being, the reduc-

tion of the favored classes to simplicity of life, the exorcism of industrial conflict, the allaying of the hatreds of class, race, and sect, the concentration of all minds and all interests upon the increase of the National product, the elimination of leisure except as a respite from labor — why should it not always be so? Why not continue on into the years of peace this close, vast, wholesome organism of service, of fellowship, of creative power?

As the essential accompaniment of such progress, and as a result of the cleansing influence of the war, are we not fully ready to adopt a large National programme for a truly human administration of our courts, our reformatories, our prisons; for the wide extension of probation and parole in a system logical within and thoroughly integrated with all the preventive and recuperative forces of the open community; for the liberal development of hospital service, with that community follow-up work which is one of the combined triumphs of medical and social science; for the reënforcement of those who are confronting one of the most disturbing aspects of the time as with ever-increasing intelligence they minister to the mind diseased; for the care in a great pity of the last unclassified residuum of society in our pauper institutions? Coming at the chief immediate sources of degeneracy, the completion of the great anti-alcohol crusade has for us an irresistible compulsion; and the elimination of the feeble-minded strain from our National stock must soon take its place as one of the foremost articles of discerning statesmanship.

It is in a growing sense of predestined urgency that we are already bringing the new-found human alignment, Nation-wide, to bear upon the problem and possibility of carrying little children more safe and sound through the first scene of a lifetime whose coming burdens and opportunities must be immeasurable. Universal physical education and universal

vocational training also force themselves upon us as policies to be urged forward under a momentum caught from the experiences of the war. Emphasis on projects of democratic utility must not, however, detract from increasing emphasis upon the education of children and of our whole people in the deeper appreciation of all that is pure and lovely and of good report, in that idealism in which our civilization has its roots and through which alone — as the deeper lessons of present history prove — it can hope to endure. Here must be found those springs of spiritual power which can bring all our cosmopolitan population into a true National fellowship, into a common devotion to the America that is to be — a consummation brought nearer as this great Republic has now so completely laid aside its belated isolation and begun to play its full part under its highest and best motives among the nations of the earth.

To carry over into the future for its high ends the associated power which the war at once evolves and compels is a duty so profound that it stands indistinguishable from the objects of the war itself. That a country at war is overwhelmed by its own returning armies, whatever the fortune of war may have been, has been one of the lessons of history. The present American army, holding itself in the sharpest contrast with the revolting brutality of its opponents, infused with the spirit of an errand of mercy, holding together in loyal comradeship men of different conditions, races, creeds, bent solely upon the victory of democracy and that for all men everywhere, will return as the dominant nucleus of a new responsible and chivalrous citizenship. From out of the army and all the associated services will come great numbers of young men whose experience and vision will make them eager to find opportunities in the marshaled forces of peace corresponding to those which have absorbed them during the war. By the growth of a manifold

ordered synthesis of social work, with that shoulder to shoulder reënforcement to courage and aspiration which peace can give as powerfully as war, and charged with a motive which will confirm and glorify that of the war itself, our ranks are being made ready to receive new recruits of such number and quality as we have not even hoped before.

For the new awakening that will come, we must be prepared with wider views, farther aims, keener insights, bolder aspirations. Tagore, the Hindu poet, has said, "Man is reducing himself to his minimum in order to make amplest room for his organizations." The test of the organization which we seek to build must be in its reach toward the maximum standards of living and of life. Nothing less can draw to itself the great host of the young men and young women whose whole careers from henceforth are keyed to the exalted watchwords of the life-and-death struggle of a world toward the light.

For this great new regimentation of the free which the American Nation is achieving — in apparent conflict with its established tradition — we cannot find it anywhere in our thought to be afraid. So far from repressing in the service of the Commonwealth the zest of invention, initiative, and selective choice, it must surely enhance the range and power of personality and of the whole variety of like-minded groups. It is a regimentation of the free for the free and by the free. It is only a later and riper growth of liberty and union, one and inseparable — with the vast intention now of a world-wide application. It is bent upon completing and confirming the enfranchisement of all peoples everywhere, to be wrought out in terms of human fulfillment, of the more abundant life in widest commonalty spread.

XXII

THE WAR CAMP COMMUNITY SERVICE [1]

THE original conception of the War Camp Community Service was in a real sense the broadest and boldest of all that had to do with the collateral reënforcement of the war. Agencies for such service within the camps, by their very location, constantly carried the suggestion of army authority, and worked within limits completely controlled by it. Those which followed the army abroad undertook great tasks, but they were in effect branches of the army acting within its sphere of authority. The Home Service of the Red Cross again was limited to its specially authorized representatives whose attention was concentrated on the family of the soldier or sailor. Even the absolutely comprehensive and penetrating canvasses of the Food Administration and of the Liberty Loan campaigns could hardly be considered as making an appeal to wholly voluntary choice.

The War Camp Community Service instituted a Nation-wide appeal which directly or indirectly reached everybody, calling for the kind of response which in the nature of the case could not be compelled. The range of the service to be rendered was out in the open community; and it summoned not merely certain scattered individuals, but communities in their organic entirety with the whole complex system of community resource.

It may be doubted whether in all the history of deliberate social organization there has ever been an instance in which, for the sake of a relatively small number of individ-

[1] Report prepared, as the result of official visits to nearly all the north-eastern branches of the Service, and sent out to its three hundred centers throughout the country in 1919.

uals, the whole objective community has been challenged to order its house anew, and has in considerable degree done so. Reënforced by a closely related branch of Training Camp Activity Service, that for Law Enforcement, the War Camp Community Service has thus brought about many radical new departures in community life. No doubt some of those who have been discommoded have looked upon this process as having some resemblance to the original method for getting roast pig; but the striking fact has been that the process, thoroughgoing as it has often been, has been one of broadening and deepening the community foundations, strengthening their fabric and amplifying their structure; so that in every case, in addition to securing the immediate result, a by-product remains which in the long run will be even more valuable than the end specifically sought.

Never before has any broad-scale effort been made, as an integral phase of promotion of war, to foreordain the kind of associations into which the soldier should become enmeshed as he temporarily escapes the rigor of camp discipline. With peculiar risings of emotion and with a mounting recovery of individual assertion, he breaks out into the broad scene where all things seem possible and nothing — as compared with army restraints — forbidden. The War Camp Community Service undertook to provide, and actually brought it to pass, that every army camp and naval station through the length and breadth of the country was confronted with a network of alluring, unrestrained, normalizing avenues of comfort, sociability, and gayety, which soon came to represent the easy appeal of inclination and habit to the fellowship of the uniform.

One can imagine some future Lecky drawing profound and inspiring conclusions from such a master stroke in the community- and nation-building art. At first no doubt the impulse was largely negative and preventive. There was a

spirited impulse to put to the test a generation's experience in the progressive ordering of community leisure-time interests as a make-weight against the heavy subtraction which dissipation has always brought to the power of armies. So far as communities within striking distance were concerned, they were apprehensive of the serious demoralization that would come from having the continuous experience of numbers of soldiers turned loose upon them. It is beyond question that in both these directions the War Camp Community Service has registered a remarkable achievement. The staff of the Commission on Training Camp Activities having to do with the problem of sex hygiene recognizes the profound importance of the preventive work done by the War Camp Community Service in producing the extraordinary freedom from venereal disease among the armed forces. Some experts, indeed, place it first among the influences toward this end. In fact, it was not long until the local community began to lose its fears and see in the presence of the soldiers, wrought into an ordered system of living and of life during their visits, a not unwelcome opportunity to which they honored themselves in responding.

The whole undertaking in all its ramifications began to have an entire new wealth of meaning as it came to be widely and generally understood that the really significant motive was that of raising the morale of the army and navy to the highest point, of giving to the fighting forces that final utility of a fighting edge that comes from exaltation of spirit. The possibility of this thesis as a practical proposal was, of course, based chiefly in the character of the young men who made up our citizen army. It was soon realized in each community that the army and navy was composed of boys not unlike its own; and people were moved to take the same attitude toward them as they would have liked their own boys in uniform to encounter. But it could hardly have been se-

riously entertained as a National project if its underlying principles had not been previously wrought out in terms of social work; and it could not have had fruition if our American communities had not been characterized by an exceptional quality of good feeling and good will. The creation of a new institution with historic significance came out of confidence in our young men, in social work, and in the open life of our communities.

The official forces of the War Camp Community Service represent a high standard of ability and devotion. Here, of course, it was possible to fall back for choice, first, upon the several thousand playground workers with whom its leaders, through the Playground and Recreation Association, had been directly associated, and, secondly, upon experienced persons in different forms of constructive neighborhood work. In a true sense the War Camp Community Service represented the distinctive contribution of the local community workers, out of their special experience and skill, to the winning of the war.

The general administration had laid upon it a task of inconceivable difficulty in the securing and placing on so short notice of a large force to be distributed here and there over the whole country, and in administering — subject to an exacting responsibility to the National Government at war — so many different centers of forces in so delicate relation to local authorities and local community sentiment. That this great task should have been carried through, not only without disaster or scandal, but in a way to elicit an unmistakable and very general sentiment of positive public commendation, should be included among the definitely gratifying facts that have come out of American participation in the war.

The system for combing the country to secure trained workers, for placing them on the basis of close-range analysis

of worker and work to be done, for training new recruits in short-time schools, for bringing members of the force together by regions for conference at not infrequent intervals, for continual supervision within manageable districts, and for constant reënforcement from headquarters out into every artery and extremity of the Service by means of special bulletins — all carried the suggestion of a downright and thorough massing and projecting of forces.

The committees of citizens that have everywhere been organized to provide local direction and help have in themselves represented an important achievement. Under the stimulus of the war spirit, groups have been brought together which for capacity, influence, and energy have, on the whole, not been equaled for dealing with any such subject-matter.

It is also true that no effort in the field of constructive social work, as distinguished from relief, has ever drawn out so much, so continuous, and so spirited volunteer service; women of leisure and society girls serving from day to day as matrons and waitresses in the canteens, busy housewives taking their weekly appointments for like duties, stenographers giving of their skill in evening hours, musicians and actors ready always to provide evening entertainments, artists making the walls of the clubs in lively contrast to those of the barracks. It was the war that made this breadth of volunteer initiative possible, but it required the War Camp Community Service to give it outlet and thus to bring to the consciousness of the soldier and of all concerned a new sense of eager fellowship in community and National life. It is hard to overestimate the effect of the atmosphere thus created in giving the homesick youth from a distant part of the country a kindling sense of belonging to a Nation made up with a real degree of uniformity of those who bring forth fruits as good neighbors — the same East, West, North,

South; a Nation worth fighting for, and living for after the war was won. Could any influence be more dynamic amid the emotional crisis of boarding the transport and facing the fact of battle? And could anything by reaction upon local citizens and communities more fully involve them in the full spirit of the citizen army in a good war?

On account of the exacting physical demands of a forced process of military training, the War Camp Community Service did not undertake much in the promotion of athletic sports, as the resources of the Playground Association would have allowed it to do. It did, however, everywhere carry the sentiment and atmosphere which goes with what is best in American sports, and without doubt had a definite share in sustaining and reënforcing that sporting spirit which was so universal and effective in the onset of the American army as a fighting force.

The development and administration of the lighter forms of recreation in association with women and girls was in its purpose, its method, and in its accomplishment so unusual as to constitute a suggestive new phase in the social life of our people. Dancing, under educational standards and guidance, had for a generation been deliberately promoted by different philanthropic agencies, but to organize it on so broad a scale for so large numbers of young men previously unknown in relation to still larger numbers of young women coming from a variety of social groups and walks in life, was a most daring conception. It was, of course, nothing more than such a combination of realism and universalism as enabled the various energies of the country to confront a National crisis. But in this case the application of the principle was to subtle and unpredictable interests; and it is the mark of a quite extraordinary success that this phase of the War Camp Community Service should now stand in the light of the ordinary things in life.

The value of the canteens, clubs, and dormitories to the soldiers and sailors has been so obvious that perhaps one simply notes it in passing. It is significant, however, that so large a business enterprise in the total could have been undertaken suddenly, and all its detailed responsibilities met so fully and carefully, that there has been no serious ground of criticism. These centers have been used in very substantial ways by what in the total has amounted to a large fraction of the army, with a resulting contribution to army physique, morals, and spirit which was as considerable as it was unmistakable.

But what I wish to emphasize particularly is the atmosphere of unaffected sociability which characterized a large proportion of the clubs and canteens, and particularly the remarkable combination of ease and restraint which characterized the interchange between the uniformed men and the women, older and younger, engaged in volunteer service as managers and waitresses. Indeed, many of the canteens created an atmosphere and a type of friendly confidence between the sexes, often across class lines, which represented a fresh and cheering contribution to the possibilities of social relations in a democracy. The same thing is, of course, to be said of the dances.

In the smaller unit and on a very considerable scale, the home hospitality work represented the culmination of the purpose of holding the men of the army and navy in really moving relation with women in a simple, normal compass of life. The daring element in War Camp Community Service policy penetrated to its limit here; and the response of the homes of the Nation to the suggestion that for a broad National and human end, young men should be welcomed into the family circle under no other credential than their uniform is perhaps the most marked among the new facts which the Service has contributed to challenge the study of the social philosopher.

Chivalry has been developed to new significance. At no point has the German theory of war been more absolutely countered. The German soldier was deliberately and scientifically brutalized with the purpose of making a fighting unit of him. The American soldier, in new and ingenious ways, was, so to speak, softened and intenerated. It is as if the Nation clearly recognized that it was sending the flower of its youth to war, and paused to perfect its bloom.

It has been proved that this is the process for making the soldier who feels that he personally has everything to fight for, and who when the moment comes is, with all his powers, lost in the high emprise.

Who can forecast the long results in our future civilization of this modern triumphant development of mediæval chivalry, of the principle that "My strength is as the strength of ten because my heart is pure"?

In some ways even more significant has been the creation of a new reverse aspect of chivalry — that of women in their attitude to the soldier. The definite, avowed organization of the maidenhood of the Nation to assume a conscious responsibility, positively and negatively, directly and indirectly, for the sex morality of the men in the armed forces, and to exercise that responsibility through the paradox of a systematically regulated camaraderie and that kept separate as a matter of honor from any and all of the subtle approaches of courtship, has disclosed an heroic quality in our American girls that is in essence quite as real as that which has been shown by the boys at the front. To have devised, and so broadly, responsibly, and happily carried through, such an essay in the imponderables, calls for wondering and unstinted admiration of those who have done it.

In a less novel but not less effectual way, the War Camp Community Service has served to bring about in a vast number of instances — which would otherwise have been beyond

the range of possibility — that peculiarly helpful relation between the older women and young men which can always bring out the best in a youth, and under war conditions has been a precious contribution where homesickness is so real a form of suffering and so unmistakable a source of physical and moral impairment.

Thus the tradition of all past wars that "letters from home" were an indispensable reliance in the maintenance of soldier morale was developed with many spirited variations and with vast resources of organization by the War Camp Community Service. The same sort of incitement and expansion was given to that related army asset, song. The echoes of community singing have reached continuously from ocean to ocean and from border to border. It has been an important and appropriate means by which all the parties to the Service compact — its own forces, those of army and navy, and the general public — have been held, in sentiment, together. Here again a tendency which rises inevitably out of war-time emotion and attains merely a large casual expression, was given full reach, significance, and dignity.

The War Camp Community Service has registered a new high level in the drawing-out of the interest and help of local churches, irrespective of sect, in a community programme involving the provision of material comforts and recreation. Such gain has, however, been rather sporadic. It is clear, however, that the Service, as practically the only general welfare war-work organization which was entirely apart from sectarianism, had a very important influence, directly and indirectly, in securing a measure of united front among the churches toward the challenge of war-time needs. This influence counted considerably in producing the unprecedented unity of feeling among the different communions which made the United War Work Drive possible.

In contrast with its affiliation with the churches has been the exceptionally ready response which the War Camp Community Service has secured from the theaters and from stage people. In the larger cities this has given the Service its best opportunity of providing a large, absorbing form of diversion for great numbers of men at times when — as on Sunday afternoon in winter — no other such harmless pastime was available.

The country over, the Service has been able to secure the assistance of business organizations and of public officials far beyond any degree to which they have gone in the past in the promotion of recreative interests.

Aside from all its vast cumulative total of personal and group effort, and of fresh elicitation of established community forces, it has at many places given effective object lessons in the kind of large community festival involving very general coöperation of agencies and citizens, which can, under standards of fitness and fineness, give expression to the broader tides of local and National feeling and purpose.

For the returning forces the War Camp Community Service sets forth all its efforts in terms of welcome and reintegration into community life. Lacking the irresistible incentive of the prosecution of the war, it has held in an unexpected and commendable degree the clearness of its working motive. Seeking now to secure the application to the problems of peace of much the same patriotic purpose as went into the war, it conveys this sentiment in terms of friendly fellowship in general, of happy form and ritual to solemnize return to civilian responsibilities, and of substantial effort toward reëmployment in particular. No more now than then does it undertake to express its message other than in deeds.

Relapsed standards during the war, with the weakening

restraint on physical powers aroused to their limit, mean the reaction upon home communities in time of peace of demoralizing forces to which they are less than ever equal. The War Camp Community Service has been a pivotal influence among many which served to sustain the best standards of the citizen army, tempered its impulses, helped to confirm those dominant powers that reside in the higher nature; in a word, to bring it to the fullest possession of itself. Having given a last impact to the soldier in this wise, it now devotes all its resources to receiving him back on the same terms, and providing for his reëntrance into his normal environment not less capable of playing the patriotic citizen's part than he was before.[1]

In that process of knitting together the people of a great democracy which makes its life, nothing is more far-reaching than the accumulation of broadening and enriching personal acquaintance, centering about a high purpose, between persons distant from one another, refreshed and renewed by friendly correspondence, business negotiation, and the occasional interchange of visits. Only second to the volume of such influence which has been created by the actual military process, is that which has come of the work radiating out from the six hundred communities in which the Service has had its organizing centers. When it is considered that all acquaintance initiated through it has been in an infectious atmosphere of disinterested social service, it is clear that there must come out of the experiences and memories of it a vast stimulus to community consciousness and initiative. Who can estimate the meaning of this in the moral articulation of a Nation which, from an historical point of view, is still in course of being born?

[1] Since the close of the war period, its successor, Community Service, has been providing leadership under that head at many places throughout the country.

Note about Joseph Lee

President of the War Camp Community Service

Back of the Boston War Camp Service, and of the recreational activity outside the Ayer Cantonment, and of all similar effort throughout the United States, stands — if one may use a word so unalert — the man who, for the social workers, at least, is Boston's first citizen, Joseph Lee. As people in other parts of the country are inquiring what manner of man he is, we may be allowed to remind ourselves somewhat about him.

Joseph Lee graduated from Harvard in 1883 and from the Harvard Law School in 1887, and has been for many years a student of social problems. In 1898 he started the Massachusetts Civic League, which has been influential in securing much progressive social legislation in Massachusetts, including laws regulating the work of newsboys, providing for playgrounds and recreation centers, — the second State law of the kind in the country, since copied in many other States, — for medical inspection and annual tests of sight and hearing of children in the public schools, for juvenile courts, a probation commission and extension of probation work, for more intelligent treatment of tramps and drunkards, for better building laws for Boston and for the State, and for better regulation of patent medicines.

Mr. Lee was for eight years a member of the Boston School Committee, and was for some time its chairman. He has done much to improve the care of the children's health, especially in the provision of open-air classes, better ventilation in all the schoolrooms, better physical education, better care of the pupils' teeth. He has secured greatly increased attention to subnormal children (raising the number of classes for this purpose from nine to sixty-five), fast-going classes for the specially capable, prevocational training for

the motor-minded child, specialized, non-academic training for children headed that way by temperament and outlook, continuation schools, recreation centers, and, in general emphasis upon essentials through cutting out the deadwood from the course of study.

Mr. Lee developed the famous Columbus Avenue Playground in Boston. Because of the work he has done for the entire country, he is often mentioned as "the father of the play movement in America." Mr. Lee's books, "Constructive Philanthropy" and "Play in Education," have both attracted wide attention. "Play in Education" is now used as a textbook in various educational institutions. It is perhaps Mr. Lee's greatest contribution to the play movement.

Possibly, however, it means more to be author of a maxim than of many books, and his saying, "The boy without a playground is father to the man without a job," is familiarly quoted on both sides of the Atlantic.

Instead of devoting himself to business, as most men with his background and opportunity would have done, Mr. Lee has given nearly all his time to unpaid public service, and has worked as hard as if he were under contract. More than sixty thousand men and women active in the play movement in America look to him as their leader. For seven years he has been president of the Playground and Recreation Association of America, and has given much of his time to the active direction of the work during all these years. Under his leadership the association has developed its remarkable staff of more than twenty national or regional field workers.

While at Harvard Mr. Lee was active in athletics, playing on the freshman football team, rowing on the sophomore crew, and holding the middleweight boxing championship for one year. A few years ago, at the Recreation Congress at Grand Rapids, Michigan, Mr. Lee qualified for the

second physical efficiency badge of the Playground and Recreation Association of America by chinning six times, making a standing broad jump of six feet six inches, and running a sixty-yard dash in eight seconds.

Mr. Lee is a great-nephew of John Lee, the original Lee of the banking firm of Lee, Higginson & Co., of Boston, and is the son of Henry Lee who was for many years the senior partner of the firm.

It is at a time like this that Mr. Lee's continuous patriotic service as president of the National Association comes to have especially high emergency value. This organization, with its loyal and practiced adherents everywhere, its headquarters staff, its devoted and able general secretary Howard S. Braucher, is a compact unit under Mr. Lee's direction in organizing wholesome recreational surroundings about all the camps of the new army.

XXIII

SOCIAL WORK AND NATION-BUILDING[1]

"You cannot dream yourself into a character; you must hammer and forge yourself one." This sentiment, so true of the individual life, is perhaps even more forceful in its application to communities and nations. The rearing of democracy is a vast structural task, and the work has all got to be done sooner or later. Universal suffrage and even universal elementary education only mark the struggling beginnings; and of themselves may become a source of danger. The entire resources of civilization must be wrought into a great system for the improvement of living and for the fulfillment of life among the people if democracy is to be safe for the world, safe for itself. And the surest way to win and to hold democracy is to institute this broad, long-range programme from the beginning.

In America we found thirty years ago that, with all our boasted freedom and our sense of "manifest destiny," our cities were almost universally the center of a corrupt political oligarchy that held the citizens at their mercy. The forces of good will were seemingly hopelessly divided by prejudices of class, race, and religion; and the political bosses were thus able to solidify their strength among the mass of the voters.

We began to hear about the university settlements in England, the first of which, Toynbee Hall, was founded by the Rev. Samuel A. Barnett in the Whitechapel district of London in 1885. Here a group of Oxford and Cambridge men established their home and became neighbors and fellow-citizens among the working people of that poor and crowded quarter. Their object was to make a living connection be-

[1] An address before audiences in Japan, China, and India, 1919–20.

tween the centers of culture and the centers of industry, and thus to bring about that common understanding which is indispensable to the welfare and progress, if not to the very existence, of a democratic country. They undertook gradually to introduce among this vast needy population such services of voluntary organization and of government as would tend to bring the people out into some of the broader and better ways of life.

One of Mr. Barnett's chief watchwords was "The whole Nation organized for righteousness."

The Nation was organized for purposes of defense, of law and order, of industry and commerce; why not undertake to organize it for purposes of human service and fellowship, beginning with a well-developed plan for a single community. This harked back to the teaching and example of Dr. Chalmers in Glasgow sixty years before. He developed manifold ways of service and organization in his parish. He said, "The time will come when men will be less idealistic and more practical; when they will be less concerned to devise for the whole world and more to do for a little neighborhood."

These were the ideas that directed the application of the university settlement project to American conditions. This device appealed greatly to us because it suggested a way of getting across all the barriers of social prejudice and bringing much of what was best in our National life directly to bear upon the struggling immigrant population of the cities. The young men and the young women from the universities, as they established their homes among these people, found that they were largely villagers with a strong neighborly sense; and so the residents of the settlements said simply, "We have come to be neighbors too." To develop a positive, beneficent, infectiously good type of neighborliness was and is their great object. But they have always had in the forefront of their minds Mr. Barnett's principle. As soon as they

had outlined a deep and general need in the local community and had demonstrated a way of meeting it, they then proceeded to get that plan introduced widely into the system of things in the city as a whole, out through the State, and ultimately throughout the entire country.

The settlement has thus done much of the pioneer duty in the establishment of a broad system of progressive and aggressive social work which has now become one of the outstanding features of American life. It built, to be sure, upon the foundations laid by the charity organization societies which also got their clue from men like Chalmers and Barnett, and have now very largely eliminated from American cities the shame of public beggary by making carefully considered confidential provision on a broad scale for cases of need. But from the beginning the settlements have centered their attention, not on bringing existence to a tolerable minimum, but on seeing that the unprivileged classes begin to come into something of their rightful heritage of the larger, freer, happier life.

The clue with regard to communal application of hygienic knowledge came first when it was realized that a few simple precautions might go far in reducing the great burden and tragedy of tuberculosis. Here was a situation in which the medical profession was making marked progress in the health training of the persons who came immediately under their influence. The social workers said, "Let us begin to carry this health gospel to every creature." They made their start in a few neighborhoods, carrying the message through friendly, already known interpreters, who in familiar ways went up and down all the streets, into all the individual homes, and into all the groups in which local public sentiment is formed. On the basis of demonstrated success in the small unit, they then urged broader formations under voluntary initiative, and later sought the powerful, compre-

hensive coöperation of the public authorities. It has been by the persistent pursuit of this method, now in the hands of resourceful special organizations, that a very marked decrease in the number of cases of tuberculosis has come about; and what means quite as much, a profound moral emancipation from the fear of tuberculosis which formerly overshadowed the minds of people generally.

The spreading and developing system of medical inspection in the public schools grew out of suggestions and experiments at local social centers. This means that various juvenile ailments of eye, teeth, nose, throat, which become serious physical and moral handicaps in the adolescent period, are to a large extent eliminated, with a result that will mean an unspeakable increment of freedom and power for the whole of the rising generation.

The very general movement for the intelligent care of infant life and the training of motherhood, on a community basis, has grown out of the baby clinics which were originally established by a few of the settlements. The results gained are so remarkable that even in some of the most congested sections of the Lower East Side in New York, infant mortality is brought down almost to normal. This, of course, means not only that the lives of the less vigorous infants are saved, but, what is more important, the vitality of healthy children is kept unimpaired. The logic of these efforts has proved so strong that many city and State governments have taken up this system on a broad scale; and the Children's Bureau of the Federal Government has made the beginning of a National enterprise in this direction by a baby-weighing campaign through which, in the case of seven million infants, the parents have been led to make at least this definite start in the intelligent care of the baby.

The significance of getting the whole Nation organized for righteousness in terms of health and vitality is beginning to

appear in a very marked increase of the most fundamental of national assets, — a result also which is capable of actual measurement. In the last half-century the average length of life in the United States had been increased by fifteen years, or by almost fifty per cent. This is an amazing achievement looked at merely from the point of view of the continuance of life; but it means very much more in terms of the broadening and deepening of the value of every day's existence of every one. Moreover, we believe that within the next twenty or twenty-five years, it is quite possible in the United States to make an equally great addition to the fullness of life. To the gain already made, social work has made its important contribution; for the gain that is to come, the persistent and comprehensive application of the health gospel, line upon line, precept upon precept, from door to door — taken up by the people in all their walk and conversation — will perhaps be the most important contributing factor.

When the settlements began their work, many people felt that the public schools were quite sufficient to the problem. The settlement groups, while recognizing the marvelous results which the schools were accomplishing, still saw many directions in which popular education for the uses and values of life should be deepened and extended. They began to make such provision as they could in limited ways to furnish industrial training for boys and girls, and in due time to launch them upon useful and promising careers. While some of the settlements seemed to be satisfied to make such modest progress as they could under their own roofs, there were other groups who said we must strive toward the whole Nation organized for vocational righteousness. They went before city governments and State governments. With the help of progressive employers of labor — and at the time, almost wholly without the help of the teaching profes-

sion — they secured the beginnings of comprehensive action on the part of some of the more progressive municipalities. Presently the State of Massachusetts created a system by which all its cities and towns were offered a subsidy of fifty per cent toward the current expenses of vocational schools. And two years ago we had the great satisfaction of having the Federal Government pass a very large appropriation through which all of the forty-eight States were offered a fifty per cent annual subsidy on condition that they begin the building-up of a comprehensive and appropriate scheme of vocational education. Already all the States have accepted and bound themselves by the conditions of this act.

If during the next twenty years we can double the proportion of children receiving vocational training, what a vast increase in our National resources this will mean! On the other hand, this, like every phase of progressive social work, has profound spiritual bearings. In the experience of young people who have such opportunities, while they speak of the manifold practical advantages thus gained, they emphasize with enthusiasm and with uniformity the fact that the vocational school has taught them their own powers, has revealed them to themselves. Taken in its full meaning, this result for young working people means as much as the quite different ways of coming to themselves, with which we happen to be more familiar, among young people of the intellectual classes.

The first almost universal service of the settlements consisted of the provision of wholesome amusement for tenement boys and girls. So much attention, indeed, was given to such effort that a reaction came and they undertook radically to modify their programme in the direction of more utilitarian pursuits. But later, on the basis of more penetrating knowledge of the effects of all the allurements and demoralization of their districts, they took up their

recreative policy with greater determination than ever. As with their other departments of work, they first made such shift as they could to provide and administer playgrounds and gymnasiums, and to give sympathetic and spirited direction to the association of boys and girls as they approached adult years. They then, with the help of others like-minded, carried the logic of their experiment before the authorities of the cities. So rapidly did this cause advance that it was taken up and aggressively promoted by an exceptionally capable and widely representative National organization, and there came to be some seven thousand persons who were professionally employed for at least part of the year in playground work alone.

If there were any doubt in the minds of the American people about organized play as a National necessity, the experience of the war has dissipated it. A great army of between two and three million young men had to be quickly raised, trained, equipped, and dispatched to the front. Great camps were provided in every section of the country at which the soldiers were to be assembled. Instantly much concern was expressed about the moral dangers which would assail these young men; and the people of all the communities about the camps began to be anxious about the contagion of demoralization which might be spread among them. The Y.M.C.A., with two similar organizations, undertook to provide recreational centers within the camps; but how was the broad, baffling problem to be met of the soldiers' leave, as they passed from the restraint and monotony of the camp, and went, under their combined impulses of loneliness and impetuosity, out into the open world. The local social workers came forward with an offer to provide trained leaders and carefully selected assistants, who should go into every community within twenty-five or even fifty miles of the camps, and organize all their resources of recreation and hospitality

directly in the interests of the soldiers. This plan was systematically carried out, with such limitations as haste and the vastness of the undertaking involved; but with such a response from both people and soldiers that it is given high credit by the officers of the army for accomplishing the absolutely vital end in view. That the American army was the cleanest great body of young men, physically and morally, which was ever sent to the front in a great war, and that its morale was sufficient — in spite of inadequate training and equipment — to meet and turn the victorious Germans, was in no slight degree owing to the existence of a National movement for organized communal recreation. To-day the American people know that what has been proved in terms of war must hold quite as clearly in terms of peace; and the broad recreational programme is reaching into every sort of place, city, town, village, and open country. I recently attended a session of a weekly inter-departmental conference at Washington in which eighteen divisions of the Federal Government are represented, the object of which is to bring the resources of the Government to bear for increasing the social resources of the agricultural community. In this effort the intelligent and determined promotion of recreation has a foremost part.

Be it remembered that the deepest motive in all this recreative activity is not merely negative and preventive; it seeks to recover the full original meaning of the word. Horace Bushnell, one of the greatest American theologians, once said, "Play is the highest exercise of the human spirit."

On the other hand, social workers have not hesitated to make the destructive attack on the entrenched forces of evil. It is sometimes thought that they concern themselves only with the more manageable, if not with the more picturesque, of community issues. No mistake could be greater, as is seen

by their attitude toward the dark problems of alcoholism and prostitution.

The all-around human significance of these abominations — purposely kept far out of sight by responsible citizens — was constantly coming out in their experiences. And the result did not merely rest there. The overwhelming accumulation of ordered, invulnerable evidence which the social workers were able to bring against alcoholic liquor as the source, direct or indirect, of so great a part of human degeneracy, was one of the most convincing influences that in the end led to National prohibition.

In all our large cities they have had much to do, not merely by appeal, but by steady compulsion of facts known and interpreted, with securing vice commissions through whose patient, cool-headed study the thinking American public has been brought to the conclusion that licensed or segregated prostitution, even aside from moral considerations, can only defeat its own ends. Before the war, in most of our important cities, more or less definite and effective steps had been taken toward disposing of the various types of official tolerance, and working toward a consistent policy for the suppression of all organized forms of prostitution.

When the war came on, under enlightened medical advice and out of that intelligent sympathy with social work which came of being at one time a resident at a settlement house, the Secretary of War — the department of Government which has always been behindhand with regard to this issue — posted selected officers in every city with instructions to serve notice on the municipal officials that if they did not drastically enforce the law against prostitution, the army itself would take charge of the municipal police administration and see that this was done. The upshot was the radical cleaning-out of some two hundred prostitution quarters, with a result vastly beneficial to the military and to the civil-

ian services in the prosecution of the war. For the future this means that, with the powerful contributing factor of drink largely removed, the American Nation has created a higher standard, new to the world, for public sexual morality. By way of supplementing and complementing this more outward form of attack, the National Government has provided a large appropriation under which a country-wide programme of education directed specifically against venereal disease, but involving permanently higher personal standards, is being carried out with an exceptional degree of spirit and purpose.

But a democratic Nation cannot be thought of as achieving its ends if the enterprise be promoted merely by certain selected groups, or indeed merely by the Government. The whole underlying note of settlement work in the United States has been the patient, systematic training of the rank and file of the people, from childhood up, for collective action toward the common good. In not a few of the settlement neighborhoods, in spite of all their handicaps, the motives here outlined are felt and acted upon with increasing intelligence and capacity by the associated neighbors themselves. The science and art of the neighborhood, as followed by the settlements during these three decades, has had much to do with an increasing revival of local community life, in all conditions and degrees throughout the country. The National Defense Council, during the war, moved in some degree by what the settlements had accomplished in bringing about local unity and patriotism under adverse conditions, proceeded to organize local defense councils; and some 160,000 communities organized themselves under its leadership. Various influences, and not least the Social Service Commissions which now exist in many branches of the Christian Church, are serving to reënforce and broaden this movement toward the genuine filling-out of the picture,

toward attaining, in some real measure, the meaning of a Nation organized for righteousness.

It is clear, thus, that the sum of all these tendencies is not to be merely a certain additional degree of widespread well-being, important as that is. They mean a wider and higher type of human relation, of human fellowship, with the inevitable moral and spiritual gains to which this must lead. Here we may find genuine hope for the outcome of democracy. Liberty, equality, fraternity; but the greatest of these is fraternity. The present history of the world shows how surely there may be too much liberty, too much equality; but of fraternity it is hardly conceivable that we could have too much. If the spirit of Christ shall make us free, we shall be free, indeed; otherwise not.

There is a forgotten tenet of democracy upon which the eighteenth-century teaching was based, and upon which all our advanced democratic progress must be based. "The perfectibility of human nature," the capacity in all men of every kind and degree to advance, step by step, to a perfect manhood — this can have its significance and power only as the corollary of the central Christian principle that stretching out before all men, as together the sons of God, is a divine destiny that may be theirs.

XXIV

THE FOREIGN MISSION COMPOUND AS A NEIGHBORHOOD CENTER [1]

THE social worker, going to the Orient, sees social problems everywhere: problems of health, of home, of public morals; alcoholism, whose threat is more serious in the Orient than many of us appreciate; the drug problem, prostitution, gambling, blindness, beggary; the widening range of industrial problems, as the modern order trenches on the mediæval. All the questions affecting public opinion that we are struggling with are beginning to be manifest in some characteristic shape in the Orient.

Indeed, the reason why we have not approached the problem of the Orient definitely and specifically from the point of view of social work has been because we had become possessed with the idea that the problem was too overwhelming to be considered or faced. We had been told that the Oriental mind was inscrutable and that the civilization of China and India had been one of status for thousands of years and could not be changed. But now, very largely as the result of Christian missions, we find that the problem is not crudely overwhelming. It has, by dint of great intelligence and administrative ability, been so organized, classified, and subdivided that it is appreciable and approachable from all sorts of practical points of view, as was not the case in the past. We have also learned, through the missionaries principally, that the Oriental is not inscrutable; and to my mind one of the happiest things about the best recent writings in regard

[1] An address delivered at the annual meeting of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 1920; and at the Foreign Missions Conference, 1921.

to Oriental life is the assertion that this demoralizing conception must be given up. To-day, as we get behind what seems to us at first the mask of the Oriental face and find increasing vital common interests with the person there, we come to have a whole new sense of the meaning of the one human family. And thanks in large part to Christian missions, the Orient is changing. Even the caste system in India is being sapped by the powerful missionary appeal to the depressed classes.

Christian missions started with evangelists. They moved on to include the teacher, and then the doctor. What the social worker has to propose is that these motives of instruction and healing shall be carried out into the community, and shall be organized according to the most modern methods so as to be available to all sorts and conditions of people. If education and medicine are necessary in order to make the entrance for the Christian message, then they are going to be even more necessary in order that the Christian message may be carried to its conclusion, reaching out to the extremes of life and gradually permeating the whole of Oriental civilization.

Let us believe in those things so deeply that we shall be prepared to throw them out into the open community and to throw our energy and resources with them, eliciting its response and its help in getting the different essential influences of the better life well established throughout the community as a whole — thus ultimately leaving the individual Oriental community sufficient unto itself in matters of Christian civilization as we begin to see traces of its becoming sufficient unto itself in the preaching of the gospel.

The striking inter-denominational development in connection with both the college and the hospital, for their internal work, can now find broader exercise in creating a new and solid community front for reorganized Christianity.

This refers, of course, not only to city conditions, but quite as surely to the problem of the villages where the really typical life of the Orient is found, and where the devoted work of the evangelists is so remarkably opening the way. The challenge of the large objective situation in all its bearings is the most important influence toward Christian unity at home; and it will have the same effect in the mission field. The united response to it in the Oriental countries will go far to remove one of the chief reproaches of the Christian cause.

But such extension and expansion is a science in itself, which is more and more represented in all our home communities by a new vocation. The time has arrived when, just as the teaching specialist and the healing specialist were gradually added to the mission staffs, there should now be the trained social worker in each considerable mission group.

In saying this, I recognize instantly that the missionaries are all in effect social workers. Fully fifty per cent of them I found had more or less of the deliberate attitude of the social worker. They were persons who had gone through a considerable part of the study that social workers undertake, and who, so far as their time and strength allowed, were endeavoring to develop this new type of study, this new way of service, in connection with their regular mission work. Indeed, it was just those men and women, members of the present mission staffs rendering this specific social service in a highly intelligent way under a sort of protest because it was withdrawing them from some of their other duties, who were most anxious that the trained special social worker should be sent out to bring things to pass in the new fields which they were beginning to sketch out.

Such a person would organize the study of the local territory, would map it out objectively, make its varied human problems clear and interesting, and in general be a source of

encouragement to all the other members of the mission staff in the direction of such interests. Best of all, that person would find unutilized, and perhaps unconscious, resources in the individual members of the staff and in the staff as a whole, which might be developed to great value in opening broader channels of influence.

For instance, the missionary compounds in China were built years ago to face a dangerously hostile situation. They present to the stranger something of the aspect of an entrenchment, if not a fortification. The psychology of that situation is one that yields itself only very gradually to the most humanly minded and neighborly person. But if the trained neighborhood worker, whose whole experience has been in the direction of using every last atom of potential friendliness in everybody that he or she can enlist, should come into the situation, the restraints of that entrenchment would soon begin to disappear. I could not help but feel envious, as I had the privilege of getting into the life-giving atmosphere of those missionary circles, of the overflow of that life which should now begin freely but systematically to pass out into the local community.

As the question of freedom for women begins to open up in the Oriental countries, what a profound opportunity and privilege for the woman social worker to help in the reorganization of home life; to assist the woman habituated to seclusion as she begins to go out of her home into the community; to encourage the young husband and wife, who being Christians have chosen one another, who are learning to live freely, to be comrades, to go forth from their home together, and — unheard-of thing — actually go together to friendly gatherings. One of the most delightful experiences of my journey around the world was that on New Year's Day at a dinner at the Y.M.C.A. at Canton, where there were six or eight of these young couples. The happiness on their faces

showed they had made a wonderful discovery, which they were going to do everything they could to impart. How much the trained social worker could do in seeking to create the right sort of society, in the narrow sense of the term, among the young people of China, thus helping the increasing number of students who, whether in America or at the Christian colleges in China, have got an insight into American and Christian home life, to carry that message properly out into the open community, as one of the important ways of purifying and vitalizing the Nation!

I could not but think that, though we here may perhaps differentiate between religious and social work, it is in the Orient absolutely impossible to make any such differentiation, because it is necessary to go back into the neighborhood and the home and make them over if you would have the right beginning of the Christian quality of life. Indeed, as I met some of those radiant Chinese Christians who, as the fruits of Christian education, have gone through this social transformation, I felt that the great evangelists of the future might come out of China; and, if they did, they would bring forth a new type of evangelism which would absolutely be unable to find any line of distinction between religious work and social work.

There should also be added to larger mission units certain specialists in social work, just as already in China and in India there are agricultural specialists detailed from the missions to coöperate with officials and others in developing the practical intelligence and resources of the farming population. I was interested in India, at a textile factory, to meet a young man and his wife, who had been detailed by a mission board to go as welfare workers and live among the operatives. More than one medical missionary told me that he was longing for the day when he could have a young understudy to take over his hospital so that he could go out into

the open as a public health officer. The vast possibilities of such work have been illustrated by Dr. W. W. Peter, of the Y.M.C.A., who has had great crowds of spectators in some sixty Chinese cities to see his health exhibits; and by the remarkable child welfare exhibits which are attracting great numbers of women from the harems and zenanas in the Indian cities.

There is a distinct developing need in a number of Oriental cities of a kind of social worker who would be in full sympathy with missions, but who probably would not be definitely connected with any mission staff, to become organizing secretary of councils of social agencies. In Peking, an association has been effected including not only the missionary forces, but many people of good will native to that great capital city; and now the position is waiting for the capable person to go out as executive secretary of this organization. In several Indian cities the same sort of organizing work is going on and the same sort of person will be required.

Such a person would see to it that the members of the missionary staffs were represented in any new enterprise that was in any degree rising out of native good will in order to meet the city problem. On the other hand, he or she would do much to promote overtures on the part of the mission staffs to the constantly increasing number of citizens who, irrespective of their own form of faith, are ready to support the initiative of these Christian leaders in social betterment.

In this new line of attack, the first persons to be enlisted should be those who already under great limitations are carrying out plans of social work, in the specific sense, in the mission field. Some of these men and women should be detailed home to spend one or two years studying at schools of social work, living at settlement houses, and having first-hand experience of the most important branches of progres-

sive church work and of effort in general toward higher levels of community life. Next an appeal should be made to social workers of good training at home. For the longer outlook the new opportunity of service would need to be set forth in all its stirring possibilities to Oriental students.

I had the privilege of visiting many of the missionary colleges and I found in every case that their responsible exponents are anxious to have this point of view represented on the faculty. They are hoping that there may be in each college a professor who will also be a practical person, in direct contact with social work in the field, in order to be able to train the students so that they shall have the spirit of community service and shall be ready to apply its motives in whatever vocation they may undertake.

It would mean great things, of course, to have such training introduced more fully into the colleges, where it could begin to lay hold on every student, and where in a real sense it could test every branch of study to see how it was going to minister toward building up a Christian type of civilization through the agency of the students as they go out. On the side of scholarship there is much in these directions to fascinate the sociological student; as, for instance, the study of village life in India or China, which includes eighty-five per cent of the population of both countries; of the old guild form of industry as it begins to be affected here and there by the new factory system; of the mass movement in India, comparing it with similar mass movements in the Middle Ages, comparing it with the way in which Christianity in the early days in Rome made its great overture to the lower orders, when the lower orders began to come so fast that the higher orders thought they had better come too. The time may not be distant when this newer human science will be training its especial votaries, who shall lead in the deeper understanding and the more far-reaching interpretation of

Oriental society, under Christian enlightenment of mind and heart.

The additional power that would come to Christian education in the Orient in this way would make it a far more penetrating National influence; and would help to bring about a fellowship between Christian education in the East and educational influences in the Western countries that would have increasing significance and value. When it is understood that the Christian colleges are training so many men who are rising into power in public administration, in business and education, it will be understood how important it is that the best leadership in social studies should be provided. As the number of educated young people increases, it becomes important in general, from the point of view of their future usefulness, that they should be familiar with the various new avenues through which educated people can develop serviceable and worthy careers.

Much could be said about what the Christian colleges in Asia have already done in sending out students with a keen sense for intelligent social service, and what they are capable of doing in the future. The American University at Beirut has been heavily drawn upon by the British administration successively in Egypt, the Sudan, Palestine, and Mesopotamia, especially for the local services. Lord Cromer said that his work in Egypt would not have been possible without the young men from Beirut with their knowledge of language and customs, and their direct sympathetic approach to the people. It is to our point that the lamented president of the university, Howard S. Bliss, was the first young American to go into residence at Toynbee Hall, and remained a lifelong disciple of Canon Barnett. A school of social work has been established as part of the far-reaching plan of Peking University.

It is very stirring to see how the impulse to social service

is laying hold of all sorts of people in the Orient. It is a quite moving experience, as one goes from one to another of the Chinese cities, to find leading citizens, lawyers, bankers, business men, and educators, gathering as an inquiring circle around the Young Men's Christian Association secretary, because he represents a point of view and something of knowledge gained in connection with effort toward the improvement of city life in this country. Baffled by their National problems, they are the more keen and eager to find ways through which they can render service in dealing with their city conditions.

Government officials throughout the Orient, and public-spirited citizens generally, are beginning to be hard put to it. They are facing the strange rising issues of democracy. They are looking eagerly for ways of meeting their problems practically and humanly. If we can go to them with all the best practical lessons that we can get out of Western life, we shall find many of these men eager to receive what we have to impart.

It is, in particular, the beginnings of the concrete demonstration that is appealing so strongly to many leading Chinese, including not a few of the official class. Such men freely assert that they welcome the growth of Christian influence in China, and consider it a profound source of hope for their distracted country. It seems altogether likely that with the coming considerable increase in the number of Indian officials in the Government of India, the pressure of events will lead them to welcome in the same way the help that can come of the new applications of Christianity.

This project is one which to an ever-increasing extent will spread by its own contagion. It will draw in not only the adhesion but the earnest and devoted coöperation of those in many communities who are ready to assume responsibility and leadership for the common good, when they clearly un-

derstand how the good result is to be achieved. This will be particularly so when they realize that the work of building up the local community and eliciting its collective energies for the welfare of all concerned, represents the hopeful, and indeed the indispensable, way of building up the Nation under democracy.

The great issue of the larger life of peoples in Asia to-day, as throughout the world, is how to build a Nation under conditions of increasing democracy. That it cannot be done by mere statecraft is increasingly clear to all. That it can be done only through an infinity of human reciprocity is coming home to the minds of many broad-minded Japanese, Chinese, and Indian patriots. That Christianity alone among world forces, as it lays hold completely on life, and overpasses all human distinctions and boundaries, can do this, not a few of them begin to discern. With almost pathetic readiness for its concrete approach to them and their baffling problems, but also with a certain bantering aloofness, they are asking whether the Christian forces have it in them to press an advantage such as hardly the mountain-overcoming faith could a little while ago have envisaged. Is that quality of moral adventure in Christianity which is so strongly called out by opposition and danger, going to be equal to the challenge of a vast available opportunity which would almost compel Christian initiative to come in?

In different parts of the Orient, representatives of the Eastern faiths are seeking to develop social work under their own religious standards. In that field, as in their religious life, they are often beginning to absorb something of the Christian attitude and the Christian method; but would it not be a powerful expression of right Christian motive and feeling, and of intelligent Christian strategy, to throw down the gantlet to people of all other forms of religious faith, saying, "Let us work together freely and fully to bring

about better things in this community, this city, this Nation?"

In that way fellowship among all people of good will can begin to be brought about in many parts of the Orient. The results in the spread of Christian influence would soon appear. It is a very striking thing that so many people of other than Christian allegiance recognize consciously that social service in any large sense is distinctively Christian, and comes specifically out of Christian principles. I had a most interesting talk with a leader of thought and action in India, whom many think the wisest man in the country. He was telling me about efforts that he and his friends were making to go to the low-caste and out-caste people in the villages, taking them by the hand and even breaking bread with them. I said, "I suppose such chivalrous conduct is enjoined upon you by the Hindu scriptures." He said, "That is true theoretically; but I am free to say that the whole of such influence, as a practical matter, comes to us from the West; and, moreover, if it could be conceived of that we were to be separated from contact with Western influences, this tendency among us would soon begin to disappear."

In general, it is one of the clearest facts of the aggravated political situation in India, that a systematic policy of friendly mingling between Europeans and Indians of like intelligence and education would have been the means of anticipating and preventing much of the inter-racial prejudice that now exists; and it is equally clear that the success of the modified governmental system providing for increased Indian representation will depend largely on just such personal relations across racial lines. Here the social worker, and especially the American social worker, in the seemingly humble service of the local community, can render a most apposite and far-reaching service. It is perhaps needless to suggest that such service would open to Christian influence

many important avenues that are now tightly closed. Expressions of impassioned loyalty to Hinduism commonly come to their climax with a disclosure of injured sensibilities on account of Western exclusiveness.

Whatever be the method of entering upon the proposed further development of Christian service, instead of representing merely a diversion of present sadly limited forces and funds, it would have a strong tendency to open up new sources of both personality and money. Types of our young men and women in the colleges not now reached would be moved by this new appeal to interests and powers which had not before seemed to be drawn upon by the missionary appeal, and to needs and possibilities among the nations of the East which they had not thought of as the subject-matter of missionary endeavor. It is not unreasonable to suppose that there might be a new awakening of the student volunteer movement, — to which recent missionary progress has owed so much, — through this broader challenge to our educated youth with their natural and proper commitment to present-day issues in their world-wide bearing.

XXV

SETTLEMENT INTERNATIONALISM [1]

THE National Federation of Settlements in 1919 placed in nearly every settlement house in the country the two volumes of the life of Canon Barnett, by his wife, which is certain to take rank with the classic modern biographies.[2] Besides affording to those most concerned a clear, detailed, and convincing insight into the original working-out of the settlement idea, this story has brought to the whole fellowship of the settlements a real infusion of the primal inspiration of which Canon Barnett was in so high a degree the prophet and exemplar.

This action was followed by inviting Mrs. Barnett to come to the United States, which she did in the autumn of 1920. Besides speaking before the annual conference of the Federation, she lectured under settlement auspices in New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Washington, Pittsburgh, New Haven, and Boston. She gave many stimulating insights, reaching back more than fifty years, into the work of her husband and herself. Her chief interest, however, was in presenting the story and prospects of the Hampstead Garden Suburb, a remarkable achievement in which she has worked out, in forms of rare convenience, comfort, and beauty, all the suggestions that have grown out of her long acquaintance with the opposite in Whitechapel. This is a first fine impressive object lesson in the creation of a new neighborhood on a selected site with its appropriate homes for families of different economic status and provided with

[1] Address delivered at the Annual Conference of the National Federation of Settlements, 1921.

[2] Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co. 1919.

all the agencies of education and recreation which settlement experience could suggest.

The larger vision thus caught from the founders greatly strengthened the interest which had been growing during the war, in the possibility of close relations with settlement colleagues across the ocean. Meanwhile, the desire for such international relations had developed strongly in England. The result was the formation of an international association of settlements, which began to prepare for its first conference in London in July, 1922. One of the chief considerations in favor of such action lies in the belief that systematic intercommunication between persons in many countries, having a common interest so deep and strong and yet so practical, will constitute a substantial influence toward peace and justice between the different countries.

British settlements, after severe struggles during the war, are taking on new life, and see greater need and opportunity than ever confronting them. A London association of settlements, and a National organization including sixty residential houses, have recently been formed. A very important new movement has arisen in England under the name of the Educational Settlements Association, which includes a large number of centers, chiefly non-residential, at which the dominant interest is that of adult education. This project is in close relations with the Workers' Educational Association, which is carrying on the best original traditions of university extension; and is affiliated with organizations having similar educational purposes in thirty different countries.

The Continent was for long considered unpromising soil for the growth of settlement work in the full sense; but recent years have brought considerable developments in that direction. There are now two particularly interesting undertakings of this type in Paris. Each of them has secured in a working-class quarter the former house, with ample garden,

of a factory owner. One of these is wholly under French auspices; the other was established by the American Red Cross. Miss Ellen Coolidge, of Boston, is making a long stay in France, as the representative of the National Federation for the sake of assisting in their work, and in that of various other manifestations of the settlement spirit.

Amsterdam has its long-established Ons Huis. Residential groups are engaged in general neighborhood work in the less-favored quarters of Copenhagen, Stockholm, Berlin, Munich, Vienna, and Prague. In Prague the enterprise was instituted by Miss Alice Masaryk, daughter of the President of Czecko-Slovakia, who was formerly a resident at the University of Chicago Settlement.

Alexander Zelenko, who became familiar with American settlement efforts years ago, conducted a settlement in Moscow before the war. During the past few years Mr. Zelenko has been one of the representatives in this country of the vast coöperative movement in Russia. Holding a very important position in connection with its educational department, he proposes with his associates, when the time for reconstruction comes, to institute a programme, as he expresses it, for making every coöperative store in Russia a settlement house.

The American Red Cross, after the war, shifted its general relief work in Europe to a child-welfare basis. It established twenty child-welfare units, in the shape of clinics and dispensaries, principally in Poland. It was planned to increase this number to fifty. To each station was assigned at least one physician, three trained nurses, a relief worker, a chauffeur, and, if necessary, a clerk. Experience would indicate that these child-welfare stations will in some respects at least tend to localize their work and broaden their services; and, under conditions as they exist, such centers are usually residential. The most important end in view is that the

people of the different countries shall themselves increasingly assume full responsibility. It is hoped that here and there, at least, American support may continue until this result is secured.

In Constantinople, under the lead of the Red Cross and the Near-East Relief, the old and new human problems of a strangely cosmopolitan capital are being laid hold upon. The work of the Near-East Relief is particularly in point. The city has been divided into districts, and capable committees appointed to confront the problems of each. A survey [1] has been completed with the help of the two American colleges, and a working council of social agencies has its frequent practical consultations.

In general, the vast expenditures of money and personal service made by the American people in Europe during the war period has meant the establishment of hundreds of centers of more or less localized service with some background of community organization. Most of these will disappear with the withdrawal of American support; but a good proportion of them will be assumed in some degree by the communities in which they have made their demonstration.

In the Hawaiian Islands, besides the successful and influential Palama Settlement in Honolulu, there are two other such enterprises under missionary auspices. In Manila the Charity Organization Society has a small undertaking of this kind.

Great interest in such service is finding expression in Japan. Tokio has the Garden of the Friendly Neighbor, under Madam Omori, the American widow of a Japanese artist, and D. T. Matsuda, who has carefully studied American settlement work. In Kobe, in one of the worst slums to be found in the world, lives T. Kagawa, a graduate of

[1] *Pathfinder Survey of Constantinople.* Macmillan Co. 1922. See *Survey Graphic*, October, 1922.

Princeton Theological Seminary, remarkable combination of poet and practical neighbor, closely in touch with the labor unrest of the country as it struggles into consciousness. Several undertakings under missionary initiative are assuming settlement form. Of these the most important is the established center under the leadership of Miss Alice Adams at Okayama. Miss A. C. Macdonald, with substantial moral and financial support from Japanese citizens, is establishing a settlement in a neighborhood adjoining the most notorious prostitution district in Tokio as well as in all Asia, where it is sure to reënforce from new angles the attack on such strongholds of the Oriental subjection of women, which is beginning to manifest itself not only in Japan, but in China and India.

During the war the Japanese Government opened a considerable number of day nurseries in various industrial centers; and now intends that these shall be developed into general agencies for local service. The organization of social betterment by small districts is proceeding in several cities. The development of community well-being in villages is promoted, under Government encouragement, by a National association; and widespread results of its work are already apparent.

The Young Men's Christian Association, under American direction, is now established in most of the large cities of Asia. Its secretaries, carefully picked men of exceptional education and capacity, besides building up the institution from within, are successfully eliciting the coöperation of leading native citizens, of whatever faith, in practical programmes of community betterment. The Young Women's Christian Association is increasingly taking a progressive part in such projects. This combination of forces is particularly important and influential in China. In Peking, J. Stewart Burgess has secured the assistance of various

Chinese groups, together with that of the staffs of the various missionary compounds — which are located like settlements in the various downtown districts — in preparing a survey[1] which is furnishing the basis for a federation of agencies, most of which sustain some local neighborhood relations. In Shanghai there are two small neighborhood centers, and another is projected, all in connection with missionary educational work.

The students' movement in China, called out by a boycott against Japan on account of the Shantung situation, has become a most important influence toward stimulating National self-respect. One of its most suggestive possibilities is seen in the tendency everywhere for the students to undertake volunteer educational service among children of the poorer classes.

In India social work is beginning to break the cake of caste. There is a small neighborhood center in Calcutta conducted by the Brahmo-Somaj. Bombay has its university settlement; and the same city has several neighborhood centers under Indian auspices, and one conducted by American missionaries. Very significant, from the point of view of the settlement as a fellowship of service, is the group known as the "Servants of India," an altogether modern kind of "holy men" pledged to lifelong practical devotion to their country. Of the present membership of twelve, some are editors, some hold public office, while the remainder give themselves to various forms of local work. They strive for the emancipation of the people from caste, child marriage, and the bondage of social tradition generally. Though Brahmins themselves, they go to the help of the low caste and out-caste.

In several cities social service leagues are being organized,

[1] *Peking: A Social Survey.* By Sidney D. Gamble. New York: George H. Doran Co.

including in their membership persons of various religious affiliations, Indian, English, and American, and having for one of their objects a districted system for the study of conditions and for constructive betterment.

The remarkable so-called "mass movement" in India by which the whole population of a village, in large numbers of cases, is becoming Christian, is compelling missionaries to undertake the responsibility of a programme of community upbuilding. Coöperative saving societies, evening schools, industrial and domestic training, boys' and girls' clubs, are being developed in many such villages.

The farthest outreachings in the Orient of the essence of settlement motive lies in the work of colleges established under missionary initiative. There is a strong tendency to eliminate denominational lines in education; and the building-up of colleges under the joint auspices of various American mission boards, or entirely apart from denominational relations, is proceeding encouragingly. The spirit of their faculties, in many instances, is such that the coming years will see every part of Asia penetrated with graduates of these colleges, men and women, who will have some greater or less degree of the motive and the training of the community leader.

Developments throughout Asia indicate in many ways the infectious spread of the sentiments which led to the creation of the settlements. A large proportion of the American foreign missionary forces are keenly alert to the meaning of all such work. The need of it is being recognized in encouraging fashion by officials of foreign mission organizations. At the annual Foreign Missions Conference in this country in January, 1921, at which sixty National boards of foreign missions were represented, a very significant session was held at which the claims of social work were strongly urged, and received marked approval.

The enterprise and ingenuity of first-hand service in social reconstruction and nation-building, reaching across all lines of race and class, comes distinctively out of the Christian impulse and carries its inseparable quality. The great watchwords of the gospel to be preached to every creature were taken from the life of the family in the neighborhood. Out of that same life comes the correlative Christian appeal to action, which to-day discloses new grounds or the hope of making disciples of all nations.

XXVI

THE SETTLEMENT RECONSIDERED IN RELATION TO OTHER NEIGHBORHOOD AGENCIES [1]

THE question is very properly asked: How far do school and community centers, and various local agencies of other sorts, take the place of the settlement, and what is the future of the settlement in the light of what they are undertaking?

There are now about one hundred and seventy cities which have established school centers, either directly or indirectly under the auspices of the municipality. In New York, Chicago, Pittsburgh, Buffalo, Detroit, and Minneapolis, they have been developed on a broad scale. At least twenty-five per cent of all the school centers are actually carried on by private agencies; and in such cases they are not much different from many enterprises conducted by the settlements. It is certainly true that the centers under such initiative are among the best.

In a fair proportion of cases district improvement societies or community councils have a more or less responsible relation to the school center. The nature of this relation depends very largely upon degree of intelligence and resource that is characteristic of the local population. In the more well-to-do communities there will be some considerable assumption of actual responsibility. In the less favored communities local collective action is aroused and led from without. The situation here is hardly different from that at many settlement houses whose residents take the lead in neighborhood im-

[1] Address before the board members of the Boston settlements; at the New York School of Social Work; and at the National Conference of Social Work, 1921. Special reference was had to *The Community Center*, published bi-monthly at 130 East 22d St., New York.

provement associations, that sometimes even meet in school buildings.

The school centers are open from two to four evenings in the week. Aside from class work, nearly always of a practical sort, they provide a variety of entertainment — moving pictures very commonly, dancing rarely. Clubs are usually on a rather large scale.

Comparing the school-center programme and policy with that of the settlement in connection with these interests, we note several important distinctions. The school center does not cover so great a variety of interests as the settlement. It does not provide for the close personal relations which the settlement club or class leader has with the members of the group; nor do the members of the large school-center companies get any such experience of and training in loyalty and associated action as do the members of the smaller settlement groups. The school center usually draws upon a large district; the settlement upon its immediate neighborhood. The settlement has given hostages to its neighborhood folk and must justify itself to them. The school center fills up vacancies with new candidates with little, if any, regard to their place of residence. The settlement influence is much more concentrated and continuous. The school center finds its best constituency in districts at some remove from the center of the city among the relatively higher grades of the employed population. The settlement neighorhoods are likely to be avoided by the school centers not merely because the settlements happen to be at work there, but because the school centers, if located there, would require much the same sort of active promotion and follow-up work which the settlements undertake in connection with their projects.

Where school centers exist in settlement districts, the two agencies usually work along together harmoniously. There

is nearly always a far greater need for the opportunities offered than both together can fill.

Of district improvement societies and community councils, it may be said that if they are found sufficient unto themselves, they will be in communities where there is at least a substantial number of responsible citizens. In communities from which such civic leadership has been largely or wholly drawn off, it will be found that there is imported initiative in every case. In other words, the tendency of experience with these organizations as with the school centers rather strengthens than weakens the settlement contention that community leadership must continue to be brought into the less resourceful districts.

Parent-teacher associations are growing in number and influence, especially in the smaller cities and the larger towns. Here again in communities less distracted with conditions of immigration and congestion, we see a motive being developed upon which the settlements have always placed great emphasis — that of creating the right sort of reciprocity between the school and the home. The existence of the self-sufficient parent-teacher association implies at least a considerable proportion of homes that are ready and equipped to do their part in the educational partnership which the public-school system implies. Where such attitude and capacity do not exist, there must be an agency in the background like the settlement to help the home to play its part and gradually to train it to be fully equal to this function.

The settlement, in its early days, had considerable experience of opposition on the part of the Church in nearly all its branches. One of the chief motives of the early days was that of inciting the Church to undertake the specific task of community betterment. To-day we witness very marked developments in this direction; and we should be prepared to welcome them even if they do not come in the way which

we should most desire. One of the increasing problems of the settlement is to be that of parting, often rather suddenly, with groups of young people who have grown up as loyal members of the settlement, because a deeper loyalty calls them into social organization in connection with their Church. At times a considerable structure of neighborhood organization may disappear in this way.

Two things are to be said about such a situation. In the first place, the settlement must turn to others in its community who have been without such opportunity, whether at settlement or church. To-day every settlement must have a method so flexible that it can thus quickly proceed to fill out the neighborhood need. In the second place, the settlement must continue in some fair and reasonable way to keep in touch with the social administration of the churches, so as to ensure increasing coöperation between them and it in confronting the varied objective situation throughout the community as a whole. Having helped the churches, by suggestion and by stirring them to emulation, to the point where they are undertaking club work for their young people, the settlements must now push forward their argument until it is realized that the laity represent to the clergy not their field but their force, and a force which is to go out into the open community joining hands with all other people of good will to serve the interests of the city and the Nation.

It is true that such a transition period as this nearly always causes a considerable degree not only of confusion but of despondency at a settlement. It should be remembered, however, that this precise situation is one that the settlement has deliberately worked for and has in large part actually caused. It should suggest new outreachings not only in extending existing services, but in creating fresh and more penetrating forms of effort. A true view of neighborhood need and potentiality will soon disclose the fact that such a

juncture, instead of balking and baffling the settlement, is only serving to shift it into its real field of exploration and development. The settlement staff must not only clearly see this for themselves, but they must help to prepare both their volunteers and their board members to foresee the meaning of such a situation.

It is distinctive of the settlements that they have always held that all the fine tradition and sentiment which each racial type brings with it must be fully appreciated, and must be grafted into our American civilization. But there is clearly much that it is not promising in the attitude of many of the isolated racial organizations. Too often their attitude is determined by the affairs of the country from which they have come, and with little if any consideration of American interests. The leaders of such groups — and with them a small fringe of social workers — will urge that the future American Nation is to have no dominant factor and that all the elements are to be mixed together into a wholly new cosmopolitan composite with little or no regard to what America has been or now is. Those who like such doctrine will, of course, see little future use for the settlements. Those who feel that it is in root and branch un-American will see clearly enough how vital and indispensable a patriotic function the settlement will have to fulfill during the coming generation.

School centers can accomplish a great deal by providing on a broad scale the specific forms of education that are needed preparatory to American citizenship. They can bring into the crowded districts large-scale opportunities in general of education and of wholesome recreation. They can provide a local public headquarters as a base for all citizens in matters of local civic action, when the citizens are ready for such action.

The settlement finds, however, that all these efforts must be prepared for, sustained, and followed up, at least in the

less resourceful districts, by a great variety of penetrating and permeating acquaintance and influence.

In the first place, practically everything that goes on at the school center is the result of experiments previously tried out at the settlements. Public agencies ordinarily do not experiment. This is one of the distinctive services of the settlement. The broader the work of the school center, the more will it imply such a free-lance agency as the settlement to open up new lines of action for it.

The school center stakes nearly everything on the go-to-meeting habit. This habit seems to be on the decline. It is not only the churches that are finding this to be true. Practical politicians say that it is increasingly difficult to get people to go to indoor political meetings. The irregularity of attendance at the large classes of the school center is very marked; and the turn-over of their membership is a large one. The settlements reach people in small friendly circles, through hospitality, on the street-corners, in their homes — find them where they are and approach them on the basis of a variety of interests.

We are constantly assured that the school center emphasizes the importance of democratic methods and aims in education. I may be allowed here to express a wish that there might be a long "off-season," during which nobody might use the word "democracy" and we might have the opportunity of developing a fresh psychological approach to its meaning. There are so many ways of being democratic, and so often democratic procedure does not produce a democratic result. Not long ago a certain agency raised a very large sum of money in New York, and used it freely in another city in ways that seemed to the settlements crudely undemocratic. It projected upon its neighborhood a somewhat complicated system of democratic machinery; and, on this basis, during its brief career, set itself in sharp contrast with

the settlements, which were classified in a body as undemocratic.

Undoubtedly the schoolhouse, in itself, represents a democratic background; but we cannot take it for granted that everything going on in it has a democratic quality. We know that often the facts are quite the reverse. We know that the teachers and leaders in the school center, coming from without the neighborhood for particular exercises, and having no sort of human relation with its people, leave very much to be desired in this respect.

It is, indeed, by no means settled that the schoolhouse is, or can be, any such attractive and convincing social headquarters as the advocates of the school center picture it to be. It cannot escape a certain suggestion of formal institutionalism. School-children have enough of it during the day. Those who are beyond it do not feel themselves in sentiment drawn to it. This is especially the case where the procedure of the school center, as is almost necessarily the case, carries over not a little of the mechanism and the routine of the school itself.

This whole question of what is a local social center, and what kind of a center does appeal to people locally, is one that needs careful thought. We have been told, for instance, that the saloon was a social center, that the saloon was the working-men's club. One of the recent phases of that thought was strongly expressed after prohibition was voted in and before it came into effect, when many organizations were making Nation-wide financial drives in order to provide social substitutes for the saloon. We saw great armies of men driven out of the saloons, and demanding new places of resort. Settlement people were inclined to sit rather easy because they had a theory that the saloon was distinctly not a social center. It was a place where certain people ranged themselves on account of the appetite for a certain drug.

The settlement theory was that without the alcohol, they would reclassify themselves on the basis of real interests. Has anybody heard anything since prohibition has come in about substitutes for the saloon? The chief substitute for the saloon is the home, and to a very surprising degree it has developed that when a man gets the alcohol out of his system, he rediscovers that he is a domestic being.

The question as to what is the right sort of local social center is one that has not been determined and cannot be determined by any sort of brief experiment. We hope that the school may serve in some degree. But there is an important field for study and experiment here, in which the settlement has rendered good service in the past and will be needed, as much or even more, in the future.

It is also increasingly clear that every effort, public or voluntary, to build up a local agency for community betterment must imply a large amount of continuous and thoroughgoing local reënforcement. Usually such things have to be brought into existence through local effort. Local coöperation is necessary to their best working; and when this begins to fail, the end of the enterprise is usually in sight.

Settlement people have learned these truths by bitter experience. When they first got through legislation in regard to public playgrounds, gymnasiums, etc., they were told by more experienced friends that those enterprises would have to be persistently followed up; but they thought that in these matters which affected the people so much, the people would see that they were carried through to continuous success. We have lived long enough to see that that is not so. We have very fine playgrounds, but very poor administration of those playgrounds. After you get your school centers going, you have to get the local groups responsibly interested. Their interest must be kept at such a level as to secure good standards and a continuous response. Even if you have

the most perfect equipment, you must have responsible groups representing local interest; and where responsible citizenship has been drained off, there has got to be some sort of process for having people go into the neighborhood in order that they may deliberately and continuously provide such reënforcement.

Indeed, there is a certain irony about the suggestion that the community center, of whatever sort, in the settlement neighborhood is likely to obviate further need of the settlement. The facts show just the reverse effect. It is very interesting that in Chicago, where the playgrounds provide elaborate social centers the year round, the need of residential groups of workers is increasingly felt. In Los Angeles the municipality has actually established settlement houses in connection with the playground centers. For all that, we do not have to go away from home for suggestive object lessons. Several of the constituent members of the Boston Social Union were, under private initiative, long-established and successful neighborhood centers. The very success of their work as such led them all in due time to add residential groups of workers on the settlement plan, in order that the work of the neighborhood center might be more closely and continuously followed up and reënforced, and that it might be supplemented by various kinds of neighborly acquaintance and influence.

This suggests, of course, that there are many kinds of service out in the open community which the school center, or any similar undertaking within four walls, hardly even contemplates.

It was hoped in the beginning that the settlement, by establishing its base amid some of the worst of the city's evils, would help to create a new perspective with regard to them. It has had something definite to do with the coming of prohibition that in five hundred city neighborhoods there

have been during the last two or three decades groups of educated young people amid practically all the worst nests of saloons to be found in the country. They have had the record of the whole awful tragedy burned into their minds and hearts; and they have been in position to disseminate their conclusions so as to crystallize a most effective public opinion. In the same way the new National sentiment against all tolerance of prostitution is owing in no small degree to the fact that during these years there have been many groups of delicately reared young women, living their life of unaffected service in or near most of the districts in which prostitution was permitted to exist. They continually suggested, if they did not express, the question: "Shall this evil be set down where I live, or where you live; shall it be located precisely among the largest number of children, and the least protected?"

Through their direct, penetrating system of surveillance and through their widespreading indirect influence, the settlements, in their earlier days, accomplished much for sanitary and housing reform. They have at a later stage rendered a similar far-reaching service in the cause of the reform of community morals. But in the direction both of public health and of public morals eternal vigilance is necessary; and can any one foresee a more effectual form of vigilance in tenement and lodging-house districts than that of the settlement?

The war period forced home upon every patriotic mind how true it is, and in perhaps as real a sense as one hundred fifty years ago, that eternal vigilance is the price of liberty. It is clear enough that the different immigrant groups are constantly being misled by those who would attach them more loyally to foreign standards than to our own. Alien political propaganda, in a variety of forms, is rife in every immigrant district. What can offset it but equally penetrat-

ing, pervasive, unremitting American propaganda in relation to everything that makes America? Can any one suggest an agency more ingeniously devised for the purpose than the settlement; or, for the most vital part of the work to be done in the homes and neighborhood circles and up and down the streets, think of any substitute for it?

Consider, moreover, that it is of the inevitable nature of the case that every ill-favored neighborhood is not so in a merely passive sense — is not merely "neglected." It is a veritable complex of mental contagions, some of them natural and wholesome, but not a few of them tending toward physical, industrial, political, and moral chaos, all of these evil tendencies combining and reënforcing one another. One of the wisest conclusions of recent years is that the I. W. W. is in the main the inevitable crop that must spring up out of a certain type of industrial and living conditions; that it is the conditions that are un-American even more certainly than the kind of human being that they produce. The nesting-places of physical, economic, civic, and ethical morbidity in our cities must be thoroughly and continuously irradiated and disintegrated unless resourceful citizens are content not only to have the inevitable result, but themselves to be responsible for it.

From this point of view note the far-reaching importance of what is perhaps the best single achievement in neighborhood organization on the part of the settlements — and a result which is of solid value at every settlement house in the country, however indifferent its work may be in other respects. I refer to the women's club with all the forms of influence to which it leads. The settlements have recently been criticized for what they have often acknowledged, their limited success with men's clubs. But the importance to the neighborhood of the men's club as compared with the women's, as a rule, is small. The men meet to while away a bit of

leisure time. The women meet to consult about the central interests of their lives. What is learned in their meetings is applied in individual homes, is disseminated to homes not directly involved, is reënforced by visitors from the settlement, and is brought back to the club to be corrected, developed, expanded.

It was, indeed, a very wise man of old who said, "If I could but write the songs of a nation, I care not who should make its laws." If I could but shape the gossip of a neighborhood, I care not who should have its social centers. Carlyle, in his "French Revolution," [1] tells about the king fleeing from Paris in his coach, crossing the country during the day and approaching a frontier village in the twilight, where, as he thought he was escaping from his dominions, he heard the murmur of the village, its "sweet human gossip." To make the gossip of the neighborhood sweet, and gradually to freight it with the words of life, with the things that are pure and lovely and of good report, and to do this in increasing fullness of knowledge and experience — this is the most distinctive privilege of the settlement, a privilege which, on the average, the five hundred settlements throughout the country are exercising in a very telling degree.

In this connection the settlement, in coöperation with the home, covers a whole region of service most of which no other local agency up to the present contemplates — the supervision and organization of much of the out-of-school and away-from-home life of the children, and reaching up through adolescence. A part of this field of effort, so far as young men and women are concerned, begins to be covered by the school center, and more of it can be taken up in the same way; but for the free life of the child apart from all formal organization, the continual first-hand relation of the resident group to the neighborhood will be indispensable.

[1] "The Flight to Varennes."

The importance of the thoroughly seasoned understanding which exists in nearly all cases between the women of the settlement and the women and girls of their neighborhoods looms up into very special significance in the light of woman suffrage. It is hardly possible to overestimate the importance of the question whether the women of the working classes are going to vote on the basis of issues that are real to them and their children, or are going to be controlled, as the votes of their brothers and husbands have been so largely, for the purposes of machine politics. The whole settlement process leads toward the right outcome of this issue. It would be vastly for the good of the country if that process could be extended and developed on a broad scale.

Whiting Williams [1] has lately emphasized the importance of a consideration which is constantly kept before the mind of the settlement resident, — the deep significance to the workman of maintaining the social standing and dignity of his family. At first we are inclined to smile at all the little snobberies that are no less conspicuous on the way down the scale than on the way up. The social worker is inclined to feel that he or she has got beyond all that sort of thing — a feeling which in reality never bears analysis. After a while we begin to see that whether the attitude of social superiority has reality in it in the higher levels, it certainly has in the humbler ones. The individual spurns the rungs of the ladder that he has laboriously come over that he may the more surely hold the one he has attained and reach upward to those beyond. Under such circumstances the very effort to secure a broad alignment of local people is likely to fail under such a programme of direct action as is almost necessarily associated with the community center. The settlement

[1] See his forthcoming book, *Mainsprings of Men.* New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

Mr. Williams has worked at the bench and in the mine in order to learn "what 's on the worker's mind."

is able to come into relation with various local types and groups, taking each at first in its own humor and on its own terms, and to lead each to the point where, without losing its own proper identity, it can join with all the others in general community loyalties. The creation of a high-toned, delicately adjusted type of society, as a medium of sound recreation and as a proper scheme and setting for the vitally important issues of courtship, is as truly important in the less-favored neighborhoods as in the more; and it requires as careful and detailed consideration of psychological fact. It is a very hasty inference that would see the results secured by a well-organized settlement in dramatics and dancing duplicated by the formal, broad-scale appointments of the school center, valuable as these latter are. It is perhaps significant at this point that the school center makes so little of dancing while the settlement makes so much.

It is clear enough that an agency like the settlement is necessary in order to meet the problem of degeneracy. It sometimes seems as if the pleasant forms of work that the settlement successively devises are, one after another, to be taken away from it; and this is entirely right and proper. The only caution is that it must very insistently and persistently stay at necessary tasks until it is a fact that those precise tasks are being responsibly done by other agencies. In any case the less pleasant duties of the settlement remain longer. Among these is that of organized, penetrating, continuous surveillance to prevent the development of crime and immorality; and otherwise to bring the resources of the community to bear upon the problem of the treatment of offenders. It is a very interesting fact that the Chicago Juvenile Protective League, which represents the most advanced methods in its field, was primarily an association of settlement workers; that it made the settlements its district centers; and that, in districts in which settlements did not exist,

it proceeded to establish what was essentially a settlement for its purposes.

On the upper crust of neighborhood self-respect and capacity, the settlement is still, as it was sometimes called in the beginning, "a talent-saving station." This is one of the points at which it particularly welcomes the school center. It has for long been directing the more aggressive initiative and ambition to the central agencies for popular education. Now it begins to have the available local recourse in the school center for the next following ranks of capacity. It is clear, however, as it has been continuously in the past, that the provision of the institutional opportunity goes only a part of the way. There must, in the language of the prayer book, be an agency to "prevent and follow" the school center; to play the part of the resourceful home and neighborhood in discovering, eliciting, and reënforcing special ability, and following it up as it seeks to express itself in terms of work and of life.

With regard to the average standards of the working-class neighborhood in relation to health and income, the settlement finds many of the motives which it has struggled for a generation to express now being taken up and worked out by specialized agencies. The local health center gathers up under one head a group of services which in greater or less degree have been undertaken in the past by the settlement. In all their technical phases the settlement clearly and unquestionably must be ready to pass them over to the health center. It is, however, equally clear — and this the promoters of the health center do not always appreciate — that all the values of acquaintance and influence which the settlement has in its various organizations, up and down the streets, in the homes and conversational groups, must continue to be of indispensable importance to any sort of comprehensive local health campaign. This general principle

holds even more strongly with the highly intelligent forms of case work that have to do with families in adversity. It is a matter for gratification that family case workers are everywhere assigning much greater importance to community relations, while the settlements are beginning to develop an appropriate case work technique.

In a very different but not less significant way, the settlement must continue to play its distinctive part in relation to industrial conditions and relations. Employment management and labor departments are increasingly creating centers of humanized administration in many commercial and industrial establishments. A pioneer in such work awhile ago suggested that such developments would ere long eliminate the need of the settlement house. But the very rise of labor issues and demands calls for a far greater amount of intelligent conference, on such a simple and definite basis as neighborly relations afford, between members of the educated classes and wage-earners. This is particularly true with regard to those who are a little below or, sometimes, a little above the levels of trade-unionism as a means of mutual aid.

If we look forward, as we must, to a scheme of industrial management under which employment will be far more regular, far less subject to alternate booms and depressions, is it not likely that the presence of five hundred settlement houses in city working-class districts, knowing at first hand what precarious employment means to character and courage, to health, to responsible citizenship, will have made a distinctive contribution to this far-reaching civilizing result?

Finally as to training in citizenship and patriotism, school and community centers will do the large-scale work in imparting the essence of our National tradition and inspiration. In some cases they provide actual experience of local organization for promoting the local civic welfare. When they

move forward to the actual practice of citizenship, however, they require that type of resident leadership which the settlements provide. They also presume, what in the less favored city districts cannot be presumed, that system of progressional training from early childhood to mature years in associated action, which makes the essential educational underpinning for the real exercise of collective initiative in citizenship. Here again the very process of the school or community center will disclose the importance, and indeed the necessity, of a policy distinctive of and inseparable from the settlement principle.

The settlement learns that people who can express themselves in no other civic terms will at least grumble about some defect in the local administration. It gets people to grumble in common, making their complaints specific in each case. It helps to direct the common pressure so as to secure a measure of concrete, comprehensive result. This action is led by those who are in and of the situation complained of. They are themselves bitten and stung by the wrong of it. They are local citizens, of the circle of acquaintance that leads up to the first result and follows on to the next. They have a kind of freedom in civic leadership which no member of the staff of a school center could have, even though he were not paid by the municipality.

In the process of Americanization, the school center is a precious resource for giving the immigrant an almost official welcome to a footing as a citizen such as no private agency can give. But the settlement has clearly disclosed the necessity of a process as manifold and subtle as life itself, if the immigrant is to attain to the essential standards of livelihood and custom, and the native is to be in sound reciprocal relations with him. This conclusion has been reached afresh and at first-hand by one of the last institutions that might have been expected to turn in that direc-

tion, — the chamber of commerce. Experience at the beginning of the war period led business men to inquire anxiously about the necessity and duty of deliberate effort toward Americanization. Many chambers of commerce created committees to act in this direction. Beginning with the leaders of the immigrant groups, these committees soon began to reach out toward the rank and file. Such overtures were greatly facilitated by the school centers. But in two representative instances, at least, these committees have found the need of going further. In Boston, the conclusion was reached that Americanization must largely have to do with the immigrant neighborhood. In Cincinnati, the chamber has opened a neighborhood house which seems hardly distinguishable from a settlement.

It is clear, therefore, that, while welcoming the school center as one progressive phase of democracy, there are not a few directions in which the progress of democracy locally must, for many city districts, continue to depend on the settlement. We are told now, as we were told at the beginning of settlement history, that the settlement cannot do the work of democracy because it is not on a democratic basis; it is only a philanthropy. I am reminded of the story of the policeman on Boston Common who observed a man sitting on a bench marked "Reserved for Women." The officer walked up authoritatively and said, "Here, you can't sit there!" — to which the man, being a product of the grammar school, replied, "But I *am*." There is a long-debated question whether residents of a settlement are really neighbors or only teachers. Allow that they are only teachers; they are the kind of teachers who, by suggestion and object lesson, train people to be neighbors. The settlement, like many educational agencies, is not itself the result of a democratic process; but it is bent on discovering and mobilizing the undeveloped democratic power of the people.

The school building is public territory; the settlement building is not. But the settlement in its true estate makes its building merely a point of departure out into the life of the neighborhood, which is not only free for all, but includes all the people in nearly the whole round of their interests and pursuits. It is in all the varied interplay of the neighborhood that there lies the great and the ultimate hope of creating a real unit of Americanism, in which all the local cleavages of race and religion will be sufficiently overcome to guarantee a unified and loyal community in its relation to the city and the Nation.

It is the ultimate distinction of the settlement that it provides a base for acquaintance, fellowship, and joint effort between those who represent the two sides of the great economic rift in our civilization. The larger hope that exists to-day of the coming of industrial democracy owes a tangible debt to the changed attitude that has come directly and indirectly to a vast total of persons on each side of this line of division through the experience which the settlement not only affords, but, to all who come within its atmosphere, in greater or less degree compels. That such service will be equally important in the future is suggested by the following expression from an able and far-sighted writer on industrial problems:

> The most hopeful social possibilities lie in the building-up of a close-knit community life. To widen the range of the personal equation from one's carefully chosen friends to more and more of the human elements in every group of common contact is to attack social misunderstanding and class antagonism very close to their source. Here is an opportunity at every man's door — it need not wait for an upturned world to settle down: each of us can be about it capitalizing the together-impulse of a war for democracy to build up the living spirit of democracy from the individual foundations, in all social and industrial relations of peace.[1]

[1] Hayes Robbins, who has edited two volumes of the speeches of Samuel Gompers, and has helped to adjust many industrial controversies. Quotation from the announcement of his book, "The Making of Tomorrow."

The whole story makes it clear that democracy requires many stages of exacting drill and discipline. At the conclusion of a recent tour around the world, I found that the most profound lesson that I had learned — and its meaning was clear in every country that I visited — was this: The whole of the price of democracy must be paid to the uttermost farthing. The American Revolution, resulting in a new political formation, came after five hundred years of training. You may have all sorts of resolutions and even of revolutions; but sooner or later, before or after or both, the whole course of education for democracy must be gone through. There may be democratic dogmas that are complied with to the letter, but which carry little of the spirit or effectual intention of the matter. We must, under whatever franchise we set out, apply ourselves to the endless practice of the endless art of just, loyal, creative association; and this must especially be done among those to whom the power and promise of associated action at present means the least. Political and even economic authority may pass from class to class. But democracy will never arrive until we have all grown into the mind for loyalty in the city and Nation through all the patient pursuits, all the happy revelations, of fellowship in the neighborhood.

XXVII

PROGRESS AT THE SOUTH END HOUSE MEASURED BY DECADES[1]

THREE IN HISTORY — ONE IN PROPHECY

It is a long-established conclusion that the unit of time in settlement work is not the year, but the decade. So far as the main action and influence of the South End House is concerned, it has required that amount of time to bring results in any given direction. Often the process has seemed long, but the very gradualness of it has meant that in the end many things converged to add surplus value and unexpected momentum to what was achieved.

And now we can begin to appreciate the cumulative effects of the decades themselves as they go toward the building-up of an institution which, coming with unique reality out of contemporary life, shall, we hope, be one of the moral assets of the city for generations to come.

Looking back over the perspective of thirty years, the rich significance of many long periods of personal service stands out in clear relief. Dr. William J. Tucker,[2] our founder, always vitally and spiritedly interested, sent his greetings for the thirtieth anniversary. Dean Hodges[3] was our president for nearly twenty-five years up to the time of his death. James A. Lowell, for an equal period treasurer of the Association, is now its president.[4] The service of several other members of the Council and of some of the Women's

[1] Address at the Thirtieth Annual Meeting of the South End House Association, 1922.

[2] President of Dartmouth College, 1893–1909.

[3] Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge, 1895–1919.

[4] Recently appointed judge of the United States District Court.

Residence Committee began in the early days and has continued with unremitting loyalty. We have been much blessed in that the House has represented life not only in its breadth, but in its continuance to a number of our residents; and this has served to give its influence a penetrating, permeating, abiding quality. Many of the two hundred residents have continued with us for terms of from two to five years, and thus have contributed tangible increments to the general constructive process. It has, indeed, been the source of peculiar satisfaction to find how smoothly a large proportion of all the residents, and of the associate workers, have wrought their efforts and purposes into the general scheme.

The neighbors' part, from first to last the decisive factor, has been a slowly unfolding drama. Each of the three past decades has brought its growth forward in a characteristic way. As a factor in the fourth decade, we hope that it will unfold into a new phase of meaning and power.

FIRST DECADE

THE determining purpose of coming into close quarters with the immediate neighborhood was no doubt much affected by the pastoral background which, through training if not experience, was familiar to a number of the early residents. It was also true that nearly all of them knew more about villages than about cities. The boys' street-corner gangs meant to them at once the natural neighborhood form through which boyhood associations should be led toward better things. The reality of this view was soon shown as each boys' circle led into a corresponding circle of homes. Here the need of women's help was at once felt; and there began to be a few women associate workers who, coming from their homes in other parts of the city, devoted several hours each week to girls' and women's clubs and to visit-

ing. But some of the best, most human-like visiting that the House has ever known was done, before the coöperation of women was fully available, by the men.[1]

In contrast with such first-hand approach, the pioneers wished to lay hold on some of the broad problems which, in the local community, were representative of the National civilization — of race, religion, industry, politics, public health. Here observation and analysis reached out through personal experiences of all sorts and through study of and joint effort, so far as possible, with established agencies and institutions in these various fields. The accumulation and organization of knowledge gained in this way led to the preparation and publication in 1898 of "The City Wilderness," the first American social survey.

This was one of several distinctive features of our programme which were largely influenced by my period of residence at Toynbee Hall in 1890. Special efforts to develop the taste for good music, good pictures, and good books — all of them interesting and successful — were suggested from the same source. It was characteristic of the first decade that such interests should have filled a considerable space in our working perspective. Their relative decline has meant that the object lessons thus created had a significant part in bringing about that far wider outreach of all cultural institutions which is the commonplace of to-day.

Another impulse that came from the parent settlement was that toward personal interchange with the leaders of organized labor. Such relations were exceedingly rare at that time, as was any appreciation on the part of the general public of the reasonableness of some, at least, of the fundamental principles of trade-unionism. We like to think that our overtures of this sort, which always had a friendly

[1] See *Moody's Lodging-House, and Other Tenement Sketches.* By Alvan F. Sanborn. Boston: Small, Maynard & Co., 1896.

reception, made some contribution to the relatively large measure of industrial peace which Boston has enjoyed.

The early days of settlement work in Boston were contemporary with a new phase of municipal administration under Mayor Quincy. We had learned, as he had, about the broader forms of service toward meeting the needs of great working-class districts which were being instituted by the London County Council. Our group was represented for a period of years on the board which he created to develop a system of public baths and gymnasiums; and we were enabled in this way to see that our own district was provided with such facilities. Later on we had a share in securing an ample public playground and an adequate branch of the public library.

This direct experience with municipal affairs brought about a kind of personal acquaintance with the political leaders of the people, which was analogous to that with their industrial leaders. And it suggested, in the same way, that there was a partial basis for mutual understanding. The municipal reformer needed to learn that the city government must be serviceable in contemporary terms; and there were political leaders who were ready for a programme of broad-scale service on a basis of fair play. Thus developed one of the kinds of understanding which has made city government tolerable in Boston. Last year saw every political leader of both parties, with two or three exceptions, supporting the "Good Government" candidate.

Most elementary of all Toynbee lessons was the necessity of organized charity. From the beginning until now, we have been in working alliance with all that comes under that head. We emphasized, however, the necessity, first, of the elimination from the community equation of temporary or permanently helpless or dangerous types and, secondly, the

application of the faculty of invention to measures for the prevention of poverty and degradation. These two motives were wrought deeply into the fabric of our purpose by all the experiences of the panic from 1893 to 1897, during which the very existence of the House was seriously imperiled. The one immediate result was a series of laws that served to reduce greatly and permanently the number of tramps in Massachusetts, toward securing which we actively contributed.

The broad lack of comprehension which, at first, met the residents as they went about, was more easily understood by them because so many of their own friends were in the same attitude. Suspicion was naturally in the minds of many of the neighbors. Direct and continuous personal interplay, through clubs and classes, parties and visiting, gradually won the confidence of not a few families here and there throughout the neighborhood. Religious leaders began to feel that there was, at least, no positively hostile purpose. Tangible benefits which the House had a part in securing for the district began to be apparent to the man in the street.

The little group had got through the no-man's land of a four-years' financial depression, and had been able to dig itself in.

SECOND DECADE

THE ordered presentment of the life of the district furnished the matrix in which the larger scheme of the settlement should take form. In the first place, it made doubly clear and compelling the need of a larger resident staff and more specialized leadership. A resident was added who gave his whole time to work among boys, with an assistant who had charge of classes in handicraft. At the same time the plan of bringing recent graduates into residence through the

provision of fellowships which had been introduced by us at the beginning, was now made part of a regular system for continuing the succession of able men at the House. The South End House Fellowships at Harvard and at Amherst were then established, and have been maintained continuously.

A genuine epoch was brought about by the opening of the Women's Residence with an administrative leader and several colleagues who divided the growing work among women and girls according to special inclination and training. An essential counterpart of such enlargement of personnel was the provision of appropriate equipment. After use of small rented quarters for a time, the South Bay Union was erected as "a neighborhood town hall," the first building of this type in Boston and one of the first in the United States. At the same time the very far-reaching step was taken of relocating the Men's Residence and establishing it amid entirely new surroundings and conditions over the edge of the lodging-house section. The purpose behind this change of base was to annex the great, vague lodging-house problem as an interest and a responsibility.

The disposition of the forces and machinery of the enterprise was based on a principle which was then, and is still, somewhat unique. Instead of massing the necessary housing and institutional equipment of the settlement at one point and even under one roof, a policy of decentralization was followed. The institutional headquarters was set off by itself at a central point in the neighborhood, to stand forth as belonging to it. The two resident groups were in homelike quarters, apart from what might suggest machinery, and also at different extremes of the neighborhood from each other. This tendency was still further expressed by the opening a few years later of the Room Registry House, with resident workers, in the heart of the lodging-house section. It had,

meanwhile, suggested the location of the home of the head of the House at an important point in the approaches to the district not otherwise reached. And both before and since, a succession of small local centers have been opened temporarily in order to get a substantial start with some particular approach or service that some particular spot in the district urgently needed.[1]

The attack on problems of degeneracy, begun with the support of the tramp legislation, was followed up by efforts to factor out the problem of drunkenness. We had a hand in the working-out of an intelligent system for the recovery of the more hopeful cases by means of a special State hospital; and in the securing of a law which prevented the sale of liquor in quantity to men who had been already drinking at the bar, and put an end to the practice of women buying beer by measure in the saloons. This programme represented the first distinctive entrance of the social worker into the movement against alcoholism.

On the constructive side experience with children sent out from the public schools with no training for a useful career highly emphasized the need of public vocational education. After a study of industrial schools in various parts of the country, we took an earnest and determined part in the efforts which led to the creation of a State system of industrial education. This, in due time, led to Federal legislation through which every State in the Union is taking steps in the same direction.

Important first steps were taken in the then very new field of community training in hygiene. One of the three stations for the supply of modified milk for infants was opened, a service which was later organized for the city as a whole by the Baby Hygiene Association. Our own resident nurse developed the first service in this country on a neigh-

[1] See Appendix for list of the various centers of the settlement.

borhood basis for the pre-natal care and training of motherhood.

Country holidays had thus far been secured chiefly by grace of other agencies; now we began to have excellent provision of our own, first, through the use, rent free, of Winning Farm in Lexington — at once very accessible and very rural — for the younger children and, secondly, through the now almost famous caddy scheme, by means of which a large number of older boys began to have an all-summer outing in the White Mountains. There was from the beginning a substantial element of self-support in connection with both enterprises. The residents were thus brought into a solid relation of give and take with a large number of parents.

For the lodging-house section we began our programme by the preparation and publication of an ordered statement of the facts as they stood.[1] This study opened the way for a room registry with constant visitation and inspection of houses on the list, a women's club, and a district improvement society.[2]

These particular undertakings brought the House into actual participation with a large number of people on one side of the district; while, with increasing variety and reality, the services of the settlement reached into many hundreds of tenement-house homes on the other side. The result was the spread of community approval and community response. The residents of the House were no longer strangers and foreigners, but began to be fellow-citizens. To many of the little knots of neighbors which, when pieced together, made the community, one or more of the residents had won

[1] *The Lodging-House Problem in Boston.* By Albert B. Wolfe. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1906. See also Appendix, "The South End Almanac."

[2] See page 186 for outline of the work of the South End Improvement Society.

an assured welcome. The South End House, like many other facts not fully understood, was coming to be accepted as part of the order of things.

At the beginning of this decade it was the result of having won a footing that an overture was made to five other settlement houses in this general city region toward the formation of a working federation. Within a few years, the many-sided usefulness of this organization led to a free combination of settlement forces for the city as a whole, which in due time became and continues to be one of the city's proved and established moral alignments.

THIRD DECADE

THE outline of a large community scheme being laid, its centers established, its characteristic services initiated, and the response on the part of the people variously tested and assured, it was the opportunity of the third decade to proceed to fill in the picture which the work of the two previous decades had sketched. It now became possible to divide the club and class work into several different departments, and place a capable leader over each. Something like a progressional curriculum was laid out, beginning with the baby clinics,[1] which had grown out of the milk station, and reaching to the women's clubs and neighborhood improvement organizations. Fresh emphasis was placed on self-supporting features of the activity of nearly all the various groups.

Two very important cultural gains were made. Instruction in music, which had been carried on under great difficulty at the South Bay Union, was now transferred to a little house devoted solely to that purpose, and the South End Music School began its existence. The success of the

[1] The habit clinic, for the correction of unfortunate tendencies on the part of little children, was established in 1921 as the result of a definite suggestion arising from the discussions among the residents of the House. It has already aroused much interest throughout the country.

school was so great that it soon became an institution by itself under a separate corporation and secured an old mansion admirably adapted to its purposes. Dramatics had come to be so promising as an educational medium that a special resident leader was secured for this department, which continues to be a highly important means of finer and higher influence.

At the same time, when this new sort of educational staff, curriculum, and equipment was being organized within four walls, an almost equal degree of emphasis was being placed on the organization, both in its subdivisions and in its comprehensiveness, of the whole personal approach of the settlement to the people out in the open community. Visiting — not losing spontaneous quality, but often actually gaining it — began to be considered much more closely according to the different principal purposes to be served, and residents assigned to the different kinds of visiting according to their special qualifications. Reënforcement of the work of clubs and classes, preparations for summer vacations and outings, health education, the collection of savings, home and school relations, municipal sanitary services, will suggest some of the specialties of visiting which, set out in technical form, gradually began to assume the same sort of reality, both to residents of the House and neighbors, as the institutional work indoors. This tendency was specially emphasized on the lodging-house side of the district, where the marked decline of neighborhood interchange and even of neighborhood surveillance began to be definitely turned back through a system of acquaintance based in substantial common purposes and creating a common loyalty, which came to include at least two or three responsible householders in every block.

The development of this manifold process of permeation was the distinctive achievement of the women residents

under the initiative of Miss Esther G. Barrows and Mrs. Woods. It served greatly to bring the settlement to the stage where the influence of what goes on within its centers began to be comprehensively reënforced from without, and where it could decisively take up its ultimate appointed mission of bringing scattered manifestations of community response and responsibility into a contagion of local fellowship and public spirit.

And then came the war, placing upon the whole enterprise at every point a test such as could hardly have been more severe. The reason why it was able to meet this test on the whole so well was that it had behind it two decades of the most penetrating study of the manifold complexities of life in its district, followed up closely and in detail with such freshly conceived approach as the human facts indicated. What the war did was simply to underline deeply each need with which we were familiar, and to exact a double and a treble measure of the kinds of service and the kinds of joint effort with the people of the district which had already been developed. The maintenance of proper standards among young people in a district where soldiers were being assembled, the prevention of an outbreak of juvenile delinquency, the reënforcement of family morals, the interpretation of America amid a complexity of immigrant loyalties, the watch for alien propaganda, the food canvass from house to house, the management of the coal crisis in its direct effect on two thousand households, the ministry to the sick during the influenza epidemic, the protection of the community and the soldiers from the moral evils that are likely to nest themselves in such a district, the Red Cross home service — for these things the House was in a state of preparedness, and with the help of many neighbors who had learned to act with it, these war-time duties were, with measurable completeness, all performed.

It is a profound and unmistakable result of the war-time experience that the South End House has established its position in the minds of the entire people of the district as an approved and even essential institution. Holding in line all of the newly realized active response of the people, and particularly the quickened local leadership which had already begun to be drawn out before the war period, the immediate post-war work has been to bring up to a higher level than ever our resident and associate forces and to put all the regular services of the House where they would have been by this time had the war not created its compelling cross-currents. These ends have already in the main been secured. The long crisis of the third decade, like the long crisis of the first, had its tempering, indurating effect. We are the more ready for the demands of the future for having found all our neighborhood issues to be matters of life and death.

For the projection of the results of local experience upon the larger screen, the chief interest of the decade had to do with the great problems of drink and immorality, which only a kind of cynical irresponsibility could have led us to tolerate. First by acting for two years and a half on the Licensing Board, then by special coöperation with Government officials detailed to protect the morals of enlisted men, then by work for war-time prohibition, and finally by service as chairman of the State committee which secured ratification of the National Prohibition Amendment in Massachusetts — the first great industrial State so to record itself — I was privileged to make a characteristic settlement contribution toward results which, measured locally, and allowing for all subtractions, have brought benefits that would have been wholly inconceivable at the beginning of the decade. The release of the human spirit thus secured means a vastly increased susceptibility to every influence toward better things.

The achieved success of settlement federation in Boston and New York led ten years ago to the formation, as the result of a proposal from the South End House, of a National Federation of Settlements. This organization, of which my fellow-resident, Albert J. Kennedy, and I have been the secretaries from the beginning, has grown steadily in representation and influence. It has incidentally done much to encourage federated activity among settlements by cities. The policy here has been like that always followed at the South End House — development of a practical programme on the basis of thorough investigation. Aside from several specific studies made directly under the auspices of the National Federation, its cause was promoted by the "Handbook of Settlements" and will be reënforced by a comprehensive study of settlement work under the title, "The Settlement Horizon." Both of these books were prepared by Mr. Kennedy and myself, and the Russell Sage Foundation is the publisher of both.

FOURTH DECADE

THE outlook of the fourth decade, as of the second, raises special considerations with regard to equipment. Before the United States entered the war, full preparations had been made for an addition to the South Bay Union building, providing ampler quarters for club work, and especially a large room for vigorous indoor games. This need is urgent, and should be met as soon as possible. The house at 171 West Brookline Street, owned by the Association, is to be remodeled for a greater variety of uses. Under the new arrangement it will continue to be the headquarters of the room registry, but it will include also a small coöperative store in the interest of the Rooming-House Association, a workshop to provide occupation for elderly women formerly in commercial employment, quarters for children's clubs,

and committee rooms. Most important of all is the necessity of a new Women's Residence properly located with a view to the future, and suitably equipped to provide for a range of service whose value, as the years have demonstrated, can hardly be overemphasized.[1]

The fourth decade will bring out clearly the fact that the settlement, at its best, is to be considered an established type of educational institution, shaped by conditions which have recently come into being, but are inevitably bound up with the developments of democracy. The position and power of this educational institution must be increasingly recognized from a patriotic point of view. It must appeal, however, to a limited number of those who can appreciate the finer educational values. This means, as in the case of the higher academical education, that it must depend for its growth and permanence on the accumulation of a reasonable endowment. It is our conviction that the South End House should be endowed so as to provide one third of its annual income; and that proceeds from endowment should be devoted to the salaries of the staff executives and to fellowships through which the succession of able recruits shall be maintained.

Such gradual reënforcement will accompany the increasing emphasis upon educational purposes and methods in all our endeavors. Indoors and outdoors, in organized groups and through every sort of personal contact, the educational motive must reach more widely, be more thorough and, above all, be more real in the light of the inclinations and capacities of the people.

As providing the essential basis for an all-embracing educational programme, the higher standards of living, and es-

[1] The budget has grown gradually from $2860 in 1892 to $35,000 in 1923. A complete financial statement, with textual explanations, is printed separately and sent to all subscribers each year.

pecially the increased self-respect and self-sufficiency which has developed during the war period, must be encouraged in every well-devised way. If it be not too much to hope, even housing conditions will find some amelioration, at least in a few object lessons which may count for the future.

Seeing clearly that the wider spread of well-being must depend very largely upon increased production, it will be our endeavor to bend every effort toward the rearing and training of the new generation for the fullest and happiest exercise of its productive powers, including always the capacity for associated action. We hope to make it increasingly clear that such work as ours in a large city represents to its many industrial and commercial establishments an indispensable form of service toward developing and reënforcing the best motive and capacity of the men and women in their employ.

Our district is becoming much more diversified in respect to nationality. We begin to have gatherings of Armenians, Syrians, and Greeks. Twenty-five different kinds of immigrants are represented on our lists. Each kind calls for special sympathetic study and approach. The war situation has brought its warning and stimulus, and the recent restrictive legislation means that effort toward assimilation will not be continuously overwhelmed by the incoming flood. The settlement process of Americanization will go on with fresh invention and greater confidence than ever.

The organization and promotion of local civic capacity, well under way at present, will be a central and dominating purpose. Dealing primarily with concrete common interests, related to the municipal and public franchise services, two local improvement societies — one on the tenement side, the other on the lodging-house side of the district — give promise of coming into a new phase of patient collective result-getting. Particularly will the women learn in this way the exercise of their new powers as voters, by directing

them to the betterment of conditions and the enforcement of laws that closely affect home and neighborhood life.

There is reason to hope that the original settlement motive for bringing into the experience of working people some of the higher cultural influences of art, music, literature, science, history, and travel may begin to be recovered, and worked out in ways to meet a definitely popular response. We shall want to adventure in this direction in the fourth decade as we did in the first and have hardly done since. The opening of the new South End Municipal Building, with its fine hall and stage, will present a decided stimulus toward certain large undertakings in this direction.

Another of the original motives, too likely to be slighted by those who are busy about many things, is that of deliberately and systematically bringing together representatives of classes separated by distinctions of race, faith, training, and livelihood. Signs are not lacking in our community that after the compulsory unities of the war new kinds of emphasis may be given, by designing persons, to the various prejudices that can so easily rouse hostilities which, so far as they reach, are of the essence of a continuous smouldering civil war. The settlement has proved itself a really destined prescription for reaching this point of urgent National need and danger. We expect and intend that the South End House shall at this point magnify its calling.[1]

The dangers that confront democracy are seen to be greater to-day than they appeared thirty years ago. We are not so sanguine of its elementary capacity of self-direction. The researches of science with regard to human faculty show

[1] In September, 1922, the property, equipment, and administration of the Wells Memorial Institute was transferred by its trustees to the South End House. The Institute, which is located at a short distance from the House, is the most important center in the city for the educational and recreational interests of working people. It has a membership of 1400 men and 800 women. The Central Labor Union and some twenty trade unions use its halls as tenants. The annual budget of the Institute is $20,000, $14,000 of which is covered by dues and rentals.

with certainty that fifty per cent of the people must largely depend upon leadership that shall come out of the other fifty per cent. We are assured, however, that the less capable are essentially amenable to leadership. Everything depends, on the one hand, upon the character of those who would undertake that responsibility and, on the other, upon their searching out the way to win the adhesion of the other half. Every thoughtful person must see the necessity of greatly reënforcing such initiative. In the words of President Eliot, "The safe conduct of democratic society on its bold voyage of philanthropic discovery depends on an unprecedented development of mutual good-will, manifested kindliness and hearty coöperation." From this point of view, the settlement is so certainly devised and animated to meet the issue that if it were not already on the scene and well established, the facts of present history would be summoning it into existence.

XXVIII

THE SETTLEMENTS' FOOTHOLD OF OPPORTUNITY [1]

THE first International Conference of Settlements will mark an epoch in the history of settlement work. The existence of the International Conference surely brings to a decision any occasional discussion whether the settlements are to have a history. There are, indeed, not a few indications that their future part will be more considerable than we have dared to hope.

Confidence about the future may well cause us to take renewed hold on the great tradition out of which settlement work has come.

It is one of the high privileges of life to be in the current of events and the spiritual succession which, in the course of the modern history of Eng and, the original home of industrialism, gradually brought the settlement into being — the most distinctive new social institution in an age of unparalleled discovery and invention.

The English story, however, has been in some degree made out.[2] We need, in any case, and particularly now, as the settlement is in the full sense international and world-wide, to have the antecedents of its ruling motives traced back in the evolution of each modern nation. It will be found that, as a penetratingly and profoundly human enterprise, its sources reach back to the earliest stages of human

[1] A communication sent to the first International Conference at London, July, 1922; developed into an address before the twelfth conference of the National Federation of Settlements at East Aurora, New York, September, 1922.

[2] See *The Settlement Horizon*, chapters I and II.

society. A very great part of the world's best light came from the cultural centers of the pre-Roman world, each of which constituted in effect a company of neighbors. Considering the settlement as a deliberate scheme of social reform and reconstruction, our study, within its strict limits, would gather up nearly all the model community conceptions from Plato's Republic down. Indeed, apart from Marxian Socialism, which was framed upon the Prussian military state, the Utopias have practically all centered in the small population group. For Plato, the city-state included from 1000 to 5000 people, covering an area that might be taken in at a glance.

As a bare suggestion of the possibilities of such an inquiry in France, the birthplace of deliberate social reconstruction, remember that Fourier (1772–1837) created the conception of a small ideal community designed to bring together representatives of different classes;[1] which led to the establishment of Brook Farm, famous in the history of American literature, and some sixty similar attempts in the United States. One of his disciples was Godin, who in 1859 developed the significant experiment at Guise to illustrate the coöperative principle in a factory and its community. Perhaps suggested by Fourier was the novel by Balzac, entitled sometimes "The Brotherhood of Consolation," and sometimes "The Reverse Aspect of Contemporaneous History," in which is presented a picture of a settlement house antedating by twenty years the pioneer undertaking of Edward Denison in England. Frédéric Le Play (1806–1882), the great exponent of "social laws by observation," lived for periods of three months each in the homes of many working-men in different countries, and prepared painstaking studies of the course of life of each family as a basis for plans of practical social reform. He organized Unions of Social Peace consisting "of small local autonomous groups which study and apply the teaching of

[1] Rousseau in 1762 urged a return to the Greek type of city.

Le Play, with special reference to the problems of their own neighborhood." [1]

In Germany, governmental conditions were hardly conducive to similar antecedents of the settlement in action; but the appeal which the new possibilities of American freedom and opportunity suggested to the Old World during the first three quarters of the last century, met an unusual response from Germany in the sending of organized and devoted groups who established their new-model little commonwealths here and there in different parts of this country. Today it is one of the cheering notes of the new order of things, that enterprise closely related to the settlement is, in several German cities, beginning to appear.

In America, the significance of the village in our political and moral evolution is never lost sight of; and it must be the more intense now that half of our population is urban. The vast majority of our city dwellers are village-bred. Nothing is clearer than that the Russian people have held together in the past, and must make coherent progress in the future, through the natural political and economic democracy of their villages. At least four fifths of the population of China and of India are villagers who have their system of local society and of local government out of which the future of those vast civilizations must grow. It is a significant fact of progress in Japan that village well-being is promoted on a national scale.

Looked at in general as a vital expression of the human spirit by relying upon and reënforcing neighborhood relations, the settlement has its roots in the life of every people; and one of the results of the International Conference should be to send each national delegation home resolved to study the sources in its own national institutions and traditions from which a characteristic national type of settlement

[1] *Harvard Quarterly Journal of Economics*, June, 1890.

work, of deliberate neighborhood and community upbuilding at critical points of need, may appropriately be drawn. Considering what the neighborhood has everywhere meant historically to Church and State, one would look confidently for the accumulation of a wealth of moral and spiritual momentum in this way, which would gather combined and accumulated power through the interchange which the periodic gatherings of the International Conference will bring about.

Such study will make it clear that the contrast so often made between the so-called spontaneous development of local civilization and that which comes about through some deliberate process of reform is in the last analysis nonexistent. The essential motive of the social worker will be found to be active in one form or another at every stage in history. The century following the French Revolution brought the long-established conception of the wholly deliberate, artificially created form of local community existence to the practical test. The experiments thus made failed more or less completely in nearly every instance. Individually they proved impossible, on account of the unreality of their formation and administration; even had some of them succeeded individually, their value as object lessons to communities in general would have been slight.

The end of the nineteenth century produced the settlement, which caught something of the motive of the ideal communities, and like them sought to provide inspired leadership which, with adequate resource, should become involved in the human round of local community existence. This latter-day adventure differed from the Utopias, however, in taking neighborhoods as it found them, and developing response and coöperation out of the given situation. It is this reality of approach which has secured the progress of the individual settlements, their broad multiplication,

and above all the dissemination from them of so much of the general impulse toward national growth by neighborhoods.

It is in America one of the clearest outcomes of the war period that a whole new emphasis is being placed on the local community, with a combination of the two historical attitudes toward it, the political and the ethical. This has come partly by reaction from the necessarily exaggerated nationalism of the war period, but quite as surely from the experience of organizing our people for war which so decisively showed that in the local community there lay both great danger and great resource.

We are beginning to see that it is no light disregard of the tragedy of the World War in its course and in its sequel to turn with hope to the future. At every such stage in history, the expectation of a new awakening has risen in the minds of men. A century ago, after the Napoleonic era was past, there soon came both in Europe and America the emergence of a whole new era of aspiration and striving toward a better way of life for the whole world.

> "Bliss was it in that dawn to be alive,
> But to be young was very heaven."

This was in a world not less tragically afflicted than ours; but with an overwhelming sense of relief from encrusted evils, with the courage to make high resolves reaching directly out into the future, with that attitude of "demanding life" with which every generation, especially every new generation, will invincibly affront all the humiliations that what is past can call up.

The settlements, with their achieved foothold, have new right and a new claim to the original inspiration that made them. They are veritably beginning to express the high, though sobering, consciousness of a peculiar part in the rise of a more coherent world as each one with his neighbor coherently works for it. The central energy of this experiment

comes from a group of persons who concentrate their purposes on the exercise of neighborliness; who, in the first instance, like the Samaritan in the parable, project this impulse over beyond its established bounds. Is this not precisely in accord with the great prescription as to what must inevitably follow the love of God? Has there been any fuller definition of what it means to devote heart and soul and strength and mind to the matter?

Patriotism, for the future, must be more than ever, not a doctrine, but a life, a life for all concerned, men, women, and children, based on every sort of free volition and mutual selection, in the immediate circle of their personal affairs, amid all the ordinary interchange of ordinary people. A whole school of thought is bringing forward the neighborhood in its age-long capacity for creating good-will and common understanding as the vastly potential source of a better society.

These considerations, expressing themselves in new ways at every hand, serve to explain the steady and general undercurrent of fresh life in the settlements. They have been tested almost beyond measure by the exigencies of the war period, and almost universally have stood the test. After the inevitable reaction following the War, they begin to show the signs of renewed power that should follow such a tempering process. In particular, they are in position to gather up and express that sense of collective loyalty and responsibility which the War gave, and which we are beginning to see that the War has not taken away. There is an abiding resultant in the minds and hearts of people of all sorts, including our neighborhood folk, of the manifold fresh experience of mutual aid which the War evoked. The settlements begin half-consciously to realize that they have precious assets here such as they have not been able to draw upon in the past.

The settlement enterprise, taking anew the measure of its

opportunity as a peculiarly representative agency in this rediscovered field of the neighborhood, has three main drifts as in the beginning: communal, educational, and mediatory.

We hear with great interest of the possibility of applying the guild principle to the reorganization of industry. The settlement has been engaged for a generation with an enterprise in social structure, with a guild experiment in terms of the local community. Common cause is made with a disintegrated neighborhood in its conditions and its interests; and the drawing out of its personal and collective capacities has been developed by the settlement as a new social process which begins to prove itself, on the one hand, indispensable to the progress of democracy, so far as the settlement neighborhoods are concerned, and, on the other, quite capable of being learned, practiced, and broadly applied in every sort of local community. Whatever may be said about the proposal of the industrial guild, the neighborhood guild has attained a modest measure of demonstration wherever a settlement has struck root.

The medieval guilds were as definitely civic and communal as they were economic. Their broadly human quality was the source of their faith. If the industrial guild, as a modern enterprise, is to succeed, it must have its community bearings. For one thing, if the guild conception is to make headway against the factory system, it can find a much clearer path in the open community, which has not fundamentally changed, than in the administration of the factory, which is as fully mechanized as the factory tools themselves. It might, indeed, be said that while the industrial guild is possible under modern conditions, not only is the neighborhood guild possible, but a great variety of tendencies rapidly forming together into a world movement show it to be developing inevitably out of the forces of history.

Using the term broadly, the interests of the general public

are threatened by a great employers' guild and a great wage-earners' guild. Hilaire Belloc has recently called attention to the rapid growth in power of the organized lawyers, the organized physicians, and the organized teachers, in England, especially as both have become more involved with the central Government; "teaching people less and less to be dependent on local feeling." [1] The local community guild will be a necessary development, if for nothing else, to protect the interests of the general public as against these vocational guilds.

That shallow attitude which can conceive life only on the basis of formal systems, old or new, finds the possibility of neighborhoods in the city has passed, or would retain the idea only in forms such as technically minded theorists might devise and fit down. Holding that the neighbor alone can make the citizen and the patriot, the settlements started out on the seemingly desperate venture of recovering neighborhood life against the heaviest odds, and even though the parties to it were rapidly changing. Concentrating first in a sort of stronghold of local friendliness, their tendency now is to conceive of the whole local community as the institution in which they live and move and have their being. Such change of perspective clearly suggests that the neighborhood guild is possible in the most confused city districts; and this means that it is possible everywhere. Indeed, what has been achieved under the most adverse conditions gives rise to no little of the confidence with which the guild motive is being urged for community life everywhere.

It is the essence of the guild conception to be devoted to the higher pursuits of life. Therefore, it is one of the happiest aspects of the present situation among the settlements that we are taking fresh courage and finding high inspiration

[1] *The House of Commons and Monarchy* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1920), pp. 161–69.

in the prospect of recovering the motive of the founders for the dissemination of the fine fruits of culture among working people. We all begin to feel the fresh suggestion that comes of the activity of the English educational settlements, and it is to be hoped that every agency bearing the settlement name will catch something of their spirit. We must, however, make our cultural outlook so wide that we shall afford the higher opportunity to all sorts and conditions of the settlement constituency. The American settlements, which have so largely given up the specific effort to impart the treasures of literature and scholarship, should get the contagion of the English educational settlements in this respect; while the English settlements may well consider the progress of the American houses with instruction in the arts, particularly of music and the drama. And may the Continental and Oriental settlements, according to the national genius, prepare themselves to offer fine emulation and incitement to both of the English-speaking countries.

But let us all be seized and possessed of the conviction that the whole settlement programme in all its aspects is, and must be, educational. Let every phase of work for the improvement of health, for a higher standard of living, for the increase of happiness and joy, for ethical and spiritual fulfillment, be conceived as educational from first to last. Then we shall most fully grasp our opportunity, make our universal appeal, elicit the convinced coöperation of the best among those to whom we come, and command the continuous financial and moral reënforcement of those who have the resources to impart. As a distinctively and comprehensively educational enterprise, the settlement and agencies kindred to it can send their roots deep and wide in every national civilization.

For the United States, the settlement must stand forth as one of the proved educational institutions of the country,

rendering an indispensable educational service, and one more comprehensive in its outreach than any other agency in applying educational motives to the individual, the family, and the community. To this end, it must increasingly seek to apply the best educational standards to its staff, its programme, its methods, and its equipment, and it must seek more and more to unfold its highest meanings and possibilities so that they shall have their full appeal, on the one hand, to the local constituency, and, on the other, to the trained young men and women who must be the future settlement leaders, and to intelligent public spirit.

The settlement seeks to be an outpost of all that can bring human faculty up to the broadest and highest exercise. It is a mission of culture in the full reality of its meaning. Cut off by the deep-lying misunderstandings with regard to religion among us, from entering into that great phase of the community's higher life, it is the more devoted to all that the love of truth and beauty in relation to nature and humanity can produce and enjoy. Something of the true spirit of the Renaissance, with a powerful ethical afflatus besides, was characteristic of the settlements in their early days. We often long for the return of those days. There are many signs that the opportunity is upon us of fresh advance in which the true beginnings of a new democratic culture shall be achieved.

Lord Haldane, philosopher and statesman, president of the Workers' Educational Association, has said that recent experience has shown how a part of the social unrest results from a more or less conscious feeling on the part of working people that they are suffering from the unequal division of the things of the mind and spirit; and how as these finer things of life become in some measure their property, a distinct element in the feeling of injustice disappears.[1] Mr. Arthur Pound, in his book "The Iron Man," holds that the an-

[1] "Education of the Adult Worker," *The Forum*, October, 1922.

tidote to the factory must be found in real interests that will have something of the quality of culture.[1] Such things can not only bring their measure of personal fulfillment, but contribute largely toward preparing people for a higher and better economic and political order. Sir Horace Plunkett, studying in Denmark the methods and secrets through which in that country the farmers had achieved so great success with their coöperative societies, learned that in the opinion of the Danes the national culture — their legends, songs, processions, holidays — was the fundamental source of their ability to produce in coöperation.[2]

This is, in its broadest meaning, the appeal to the human spirit, to the maximums of life. The settlements are moved by that definite impulse of service which should always come with exaltation; but they patiently solicit from each person the assertion of his own particular higher desires. Their response to every human contretemps must be, with Canon Barnett, "Education, education, education"; but this rallying cry comes from them as the exponents of a new culture that must be searchingly and variedly human.

The settlements are creative centers in which a fresh and vital phase of the future American culture is to come into being — including the best of what our systems of higher education can furnish, but finding higher meaning and suggestion in every aspect of the life roundabout them, and seeking, as for hid treasure, every contribution that the neighbors may be encouraged to make toward a finer local sentiment, not only out of their past traditions, but out of the joys and sorrows of their present-day experience. Whatever the subject-matter, every manifestation of the settlement, to be in character, must embody some touch of distinction, some effort after finished beauty. Let us remember in particular, with our programmes of recreation, that

[1] Boston: Atlantic Monthly Press. 1922.

[2] *Ireland in the New Century*, p. 131. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co.

if they do not reach higher than recreation, in the current sense, if they do not go beyond diversion and touch the notes of aspiration, they will soon lose even their elementary recreative quality.

The war period has clearly shown the patriotic necessity of the mediatory service of the settlement. At first there was at many points what threatened to be a revolt of the neighbors, an alignment on the basis of their racial backgrounds. In due time, through a process which was directed and reënforced by the gathered experience of the decades, the neighbors were, to a large extent brought into a broad and sound relation to the whole situation of which they were actually and inevitably a part. This brought to a culmination the settlement thesis that the making of an American Nation out of many racial stocks could never come about by any technical process, however enlightened, however presumably democratic, but only through such simple, direct personal association, in American terms, as originally made each of the constituent nationalities and bound it loyally together.

A vast formation of racial loyalties is being promoted among us. Quite possibly the restriction of immigration may even accentuate this tendency. These are based largely on the remembrance of community ties of other days in other lands. Their relation to the general good is often at least questionable. Present events make it only too clear that the industrial guild, itself, might easily assume a dangerous form of social sectionalism. Political attachments are only too likely to accentuate such tendencies. The neighborhood guild has remarkable capacity for being universal. It crosses all the lines of cleavage within its borders. It essays the round of life. It runs the whole scale of local human affairs, much of which never comes within the purview of any racial, political or industrial organization.

"To connect the centers of culture and the centers of industry" — this original settlement motive finds the two parties at interest in phenomenally different relative positions to-day from those when the settlement was merely a proposal of Canon Barnett to the students of Oxford and Cambridge. But the rise to power on the part of the working class only makes such interchange all the more vital to the future of civilization. There cannot be any more important message to the settlements everywhere than that which will bring them, with fresh thought and purpose, into participation with their neighbors in meeting the economic issues that confront them in all their relations to the industrial system and process.

It is not unfair to believe that many experiments in the more human and more democratic organization and administration of given industries have been affected by settlement experience and object lessons. Such industrial experiments are in general undertaken in isolated communities. In a great city with its vast multiplicity of industry and commerce, much of the responsibility which business leadership must increasingly assume, cannot be fulfilled by it directly; such responsibility for the maintenance, under new conditions and standards, of industrial morale on the basis of industrial justice must devolve upon forms of organization that will circumscribe the industrial personnel by geographical units, in their home and neighborhood backgrounds. If we could use the phrase "welfare work" in a really forward-looking sense, with a connotation of increasing democratic coöperation, the settlement, in the organization of a city's whole scheme of manufacture and commerce, must become one of its most indispensable agencies.

Amid the conflicts of capital and labor the settlement, which for long was a lonely exponent of the organization of labor, will have at this later stage a profound opportunity in

the new stage of industrial history whose dominating note must be no longer consumption, but production — bringing together representatives of both sides of the great issue into a new perspective determined by the general public interest, through which alone the increasing national product can be created, out of which the better standard of living for the many can be secured. The settlement, as a many-sided experiment station in the securing enhanced results for the common good through training in every sort of associated action, will be increasingly in position to disseminate no little of the kind of influence through which alone the outlet from our industrial troubles will be found.

The settlement has made significant contribution to a better attitude toward labor questions by bringing it about that, in advance of conflict, there were not a few persons, scattered through many communities, representing capital, labor, and the consuming public, who have established human relations across the lines of misunderstanding. A vast field for such service still remains. Let it be remembered that the direct approach to contentious ground is not always or often the way to develop understanding. There is a slowly forming expectation that if the method of trial by combat between employer and workman is to be brought to an end, there must be some new approach to the problem. Arbitration in whatever form seems only the more surely to continue the existence of conflict.

The settlement has always cherished the conception that, while economic change was indispensable to spiritual progress, there was, even under the most adverse conditions, large opportunity of such appeal to the higher nature as would bring economic change through the opening of new avenues for the development of intelligence and character.

An apposite suggestion comes from a passage in George

Santayana's "Character and Opinion in America." [1] He is describing life at Harvard, and marks out the gulf that separates professor and student:

> The young had their own ways, which, on principle, were to be fostered and respected; and one of their instincts was to associate only with their own age and calibre. The young were simply young; and the old simply old, as among peasants. Teachers and pupils seemed animals of different species, useful and well-disposed toward each other, like a cow and a milkmaid; periodic contributions could pass between them, but not conversation. This circumstance shows how much American intelligence is absorbed in what is not intellectual. Their tasks and their pleasures divide people of different ages. What can unite them is ideas, impersonal interests, liberal arts. Without these they cannot forget their mutual inferiority.

What a profound insight! How the suggestion of our unreadiness to confront one another helps to explain every kind of reserve and repulsion that separates human beings. From this point of view the settlement serves its best purpose as a reconciling agency through its cultural function, by creating a higher medium above the levels of distrust. There is a principle here upon which the settlement has long relied in bringing together persons of American antecedents and representatives of the different immigrant groups; and even in achieving understanding between immigrant parents and their children. The possibility of the gradual growth of common interest between separated economic classes in a common national culture has indeed been a dream of the settlement. Do we dare to believe that we can help to make it come true? The finer and higher interests and possibilities of human nature, to which the settlement is above all pledged, constitute the flux through which all the prejudices of life can be resolved. This is one of many points of view from which the renewed settlement faith in the influences of culture suggests real promise of social progress.[2]

[1] New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1920.

[2] The central lesson of history seems to be found by H. G. Wells in

The changed aspect of democracy has created a situation so essentially new that there is a fresh summons to the settlement for all that its special position, outlook, and attack can develop. Its whole front must be freshly conceived. Its call for recruits has a special urgency and affords a special incitement. The present crisis demands a quality of devotion, and allows for a quality of aspiration, different from that of a generation ago, but no less touched with soundly prophetic purpose. In particular, there never has been a time when the central and indispensable principle of residence amid working-class homes was more vital to the kind of acquaintance and influence which will call out the higher common sentiment. We read of a new type of radical saints, in Germany, pledged to social change, who cannot remain amid the confusion of industrialism, but betake themselves to a kind of twentieth-century monastic solitude. The settlements preserve something of the inner essence of the monastic life in common, as a means of mutual spiritual reënforcement, but they are truly of the modern world in projecting themselves into the thick of the facts which make the issue.

The settlement is a pointedly contemporary example of a tendency which comes out of the depths of human nature, a universal and undying impulse to carry the seeds of beneficence to other and strange places and people. The missionary instinct shows its signs in every country and in every age of the world since the earliest dawn of civilization; and this means that there is an ineradicable inclination in human

the necessity of a thorough leavening process of education, "to base the ordinary citizens' minds upon the idea of service and obligation to the republic," and to provide "a medium of general information to keep their activities in harmony, to enable them to will as one body." "The essential factor in the organization of a living state, the world is coming to realize, is the organization of an education." "By European standards, by the standard of any state that has existed hitherto, the level of the common education of America is high; but by the standards of what it might be, America is an uneducated country." Follow index references to "education" in his *Outline of History*.

nature to receive the disinterested envoy and, if virtue in some sense proceeds from him, to give welcome to his message. The thoroughness of his reception depends on the degree to which he becomes part of his new environment. The true missionary is always partly converted by those to whom he comes. No one who knows the lessons of history and human evolution can say otherwise than that the settlement, as the outpost of a cause, with wholly distinctive methods and imported leadership, is acting on the basis of an intelligent reading of the facts of life. So far from there being any unreality in the settlement overture, it is integrally bound up with the higher order of things.

A curious reason given for a certain lack of emphasis by some observers upon the necessity of any such leadership as the settlement supplies is that the spirit of democracy is more and more taking possession of the field. It would probably be admitted that the progress and success of democracy must require the maintenance of standards constantly upheld and applied by those who are trained to do so. But beyond this it is felt that democracy, so far as all its processes are concerned, will organize and administer itself. As against any such attitude, it is one of the clearest and surest results of settlement experience that the highly complicated mental and associational processes of democracy, with all their growing pains of self-assertion, require the very quintessence of leadership. Is it found that democratic experiments in the schoolroom require less ingenuity, resource, skill, and insight than more autocratic forms of discipline? It is, indeed, just to this end that the best settlement initiative is devoting itself, with the fullest draught upon its powers; and this is the merest foreshadowing of what must be done through highly qualified leadership in all our communities to guide the present, and especially the future, generation in the practice of democracy — efficient, responsible, public-spirited, aspiring.

It is, indeed, now clearly recognized by all capable students of neighborhood organization, under whatever conditions, that trained and persistent leadership is indispensable, and that this leadership in nearly every case must come from without.

During their career, the settlements, which have shown a remarkable capacity for keeping on, have witnessed the failure of many attempts at local community organization. In nearly all cases, this has been on account of the lack of enlightened and determined leadership. This is the point at which, above all, the settlements must not only provide for their own future, but must serve as training schools from which young men and women will be sent out into the general field of local community development.

A new and profoundly significant basis for common understanding among all who are seeking to promote local community well-being is being found in a conclusion that is being reached by exponents of the community center in normally conditioned places. They are becoming convinced that its guidance, even under the most wholesome conditions, must increasingly be in the hands of a small capable group, held in some special fellowship, having some sort of intimate corporate base for this fellowship, and living individually and collectively as hospitable neighbors among the people. The community center would thus carry over not merely the outer embodiment of the settlement, but its inner essence. From this point of view the settlement stands forth more unmistakably than ever as the archetype, the pattern in the mount, of local reconstruction in general. In providing for less resourceful communities, this theory would inevitably assign to the settlements, as agencies for facilitating and promoting the influence of precisely this kind of group, living in the way specified, a status which should be all the more permanent with the coming of the school center into

such places. It is also true that leaders in community organization in the wide sense recognize a continuous special service to be rendered by some of the settlements, at least, to the cause in general through their function of experiment stations and training schools, with their exceptional equipment and staff, and their unparalleled access to all that illustrates the subject in hand.[1]

The neighborhood guild has for one of its proper functions the domestication of the scientific attitude. Science is in the first instance a development of humble knowledge about simple things. In its full application, it must always be finding ways of disseminating its services among the people at large. It is especially true that in its human bearings it must continually be refreshing itself through the fullest respect for the wisdom of the humble. The settlement represents a high and pointed quality of respect for the human material out of which the human sciences must be developed. Within the limits of that respect, and indeed on account of it, the settlement works out its vocation as in part a laboratory, an experiment station, a training school. Through all its ways of approach, more or less deliberate, it has a peculiar opportunity of developing an attitude and an advance as broad and balanced as the varied totality of the facts that it encounters. Neither the conservatism nor the radicalism of the schools — and radical systems are of the intellectuals as truly as conservative — can for long fill its vision.

Consider for a moment, in this connection, something of the scope of the active and continuous negotiations with which the settlement, in its full relation to the city, is engaged: with the whole range of religious sectarianism; the vocations of life in great variety; the scale of industry from

[1] There are several well-defined groups, each having its national organization, which devote special attention to the local community. Representatives of all of them come together in the Section on the Local Community of the National Conference of Social Work.

top to bottom; from three or four to thirty or forty different nationalities, all the various grades of intelligence and capacity, juvenile and adult; the various phases of politics, including not only occasional measures of reform, but innumerable practical aspects of the process of citizenship and public service, as the times and the situation cast them up; that seven eighths of the life of the local and general community, which is neither public nor semi-public, but is conducted and recorded only in casual conversation.

We are in far better position than ever before to take a genuine measurement from within the life of our neighborhoods of the settlement's task to be performed; and we are opening our eyes to realize that the day of the settlement has only begun — it is hardly beyond the cock-crow. There was a time when we heard much about "ushering in the co-operative commonwealth." The experience of the nations has disposed of such dreams; but there still seems to linger a conception that locally a full-fledged system of community coöperation can be ushered in. The settlements have learned that local democracy in the field of what might be called neighborhood culture is a high technique, a process long and slow like civilization itself. In the midst of a widespread realization that some of the most vital issues of the future must be wrought out in these near-at-home fields, the settlements are disclosed, indeed, as having done the creative work of a generation; but we must now understand that their chief service has consisted in establishing a footing for the large and far-reaching constructive undertaking of the future.

We ourselves, in former days, were somewhat under sway of the idea that our particular Utopia would ere long be ushered in. We looked forward to a not distant stage when the task of the settlements would be done and they would disappear. This outlook has had its use in leading us to welcome

each successive opportunity to turn this or that developed and proved service over to the public administration or to semi-public forms of organization. But the time has come when by the test of facts we know that the settlement, in its essence, must continue through the generations. It is for us now clearly to proclaim this truth, and deliberately to make preparations which will serve to ensure such continuity. This means not only much more earnest effort toward keeping up the succession of an enlightened and devoted personnel; but it definitely implies the partial endowment of the settlement, in order that, as with other voluntary educational institutions, the accrued capital of the past may continuously help to sustain the present in far-reaching service to the future.

Thus the settlement clearly comes out into a broad new region of experience. It begins to draw upon a past which it has, in its measure, influenced and convinced; and it begins to take up as its own a future perspective with real distance to it. This longer and farther reach must qualify all its work, all its relations not only with the great community of city and nation, but with the immediate neighborhood. As centers of a latter-day, truly humanized culture, our settlements will begin to realize the meaning of Edmund Burke's great words about society:

> It is a partnership in all science; a partnership in all art, a partnership in every virtue and in all perfection. As the ends of such a partnership cannot be obtained in many generations, it becomes a partnership not only between those who are living, but between those who are living, those who are dead, and those who are to be born.[1]

This suggests that the true meaning of social work is found where it undertakes to deal with totals, including the whole of a community in the length and breadth and depth and height of its interests. It is one of the most exceptional

[1] *Reflections on the Revolution in France; Principles of Statesmanship.*

privileges of settlement work that it can thus totalize. The reproach of the specialist and the technician upon the general practitioner is passing. This is clearly seen to-day in the fields both of scholarship and of applied science. General history, general literary traditions, general engineering, are the new post-war watchwords. The settlement administrator is in an enviable position as a general social worker.

But there is one vital point at which we have failed to totalize. We have never had any sort of adequate future perspective for our work. In this sense it has lacked solidity. It has been in two dimensions. But we have reached a new point of vantage. What we hope and believe to be a real emergence from some of the world entanglements of past history, no less than a deeper understanding of our own position and problem, puts us where we can and must look forward and lay long plans — where we can take into partnership those who are to be born.

Several great developments in national policy call for fresh appraisal of new situations which they have brought about, and fresh approaches to resultant problems and possibilities. Prohibition, woman suffrage, and the severe restriction of immigration — each means a whole range of fresh study and of newly devised first-hand action of the most vitally significant character within the precise field of service and with the precise ways of approach which are characteristic of the settlement. Amid these tendencies, which give promise of lifting substantially some of the heavy burdens which our settlement neighborhoods have been carrying, raising their levels of appreciation and production, reducing excessive mobility and making possible a more established form of neighborly intercourse and reciprocity, — we are confronted with results of scientific research which suggest more clearly than ever before the gradations of mental capacity which rule among the people. Such provisional

knowledge as we have about the dissemination of ability throughout the community strongly confirms our settlement faith as to the sporadic latent capacity and even genius to be found among the unprivileged groups. Thus our search for special capacity and our effort to provide it with its appropriate opportunity must be more unremitting than ever. On the other hand, we are encouraged to believe that among the rank and file there is perhaps an even greater susceptibility to the better interests of life than we have previously thought.

The preliminary results gained in the measurement of the lesser ranges of ability, which on the face of them seem depressing, probably do not represent any other state of things than the sober facing of facts of neighborhood experience has led settlement residents generally to recognize. One important conclusion comes out clearly. The rank and file need and crave leadership. Everything depends on what sort of leadership they are to have. They accept an indifferent, or worse, leader because by sharing their lives he learns to commend himself to them. They will accept the best leadership in so far as it can learn to participate in their round of life. It is possible for young people of high standards and attainments to learn how thus to commend themselves. Here is perhaps the supreme issue of democracy. At this point the argument for the fullest reënforcement of personnel and funds to the settlement is absolute.

In these and all other settlement overtures there is the constant double reach — back into the personal life, out into the city, State, and Nation. In each direction constant refreshment, and the widest emancipation, of mind is needed. Every man and woman, every child, among the neighbors, however limited, represents an infinity of interests. It is an infinity of infinities that makes up the neighborhood. What vast things to each the right interplay with the others may

mean! What poverties of mind and heart that rightly brought together can make one another rich! How slightly we have as yet estimated the possibilities of mind and spirit that may be elicited through the simpler, more direct settlement approach!

On the other hand, how essential to outline the large masses in the picture that we are striving to bring into form. For the sake of the individual neighborhood, no less than on account of the greater units of population, we must constantly integrate our local community projects into the general community life. We feel profound interest in our settlement federations; but we have merely glimpsed their potency.[1] Through the extension of the principle which they represent, every aim toward individual well-being and fulfillment and neighborhood capacity and aspiration can begin to find its complement and supplement in other neighborhoods organized for the same purpose. And it is precisely such contagion that gives spirit and power to nations and civilizations. Mazzini points out that it was the unity of movement among the French villages of the eleventh century that made the French nation possible.[2] May it not be that the unified spread from community to community of a fuller and finer understanding among neighbors may produce a new and nobler type of national life, powerful through goodwill and high common purpose; which will, as it spreads from nation to nation, create a true spiritual likeness and kinship among them.

The only negative suggestion Canon Barnett ever made about the American settlements was, "too much philan-

[1] For an account of the activity and significance of settlement federation, urban, regional, and national, as in itself giving some suggestion of a higher form of social and political organization, see *The Settlement Horizon*, chapters XXXIV and XXXV.

[2] Essay on *M. Renan and France.* "Monarchy promoted the territorial unity of France: her moral unity — the soul of a nation — arose there, as elsewhere, out of the instincts of the people."

thropy." Too much dependence upon scattered good deeds — the danger, in the old theologian's phrase of "vain works," of "deadly doing"; not enough faith, not enough broad and high range of mind and spirit. Here, transcending all else, lies not so much our duty as the opportunity which the times would almost compel us to lay hold upon. To those who have gone through much or all of the settlement experience of the first generation, there remains a more unique privilege than that which they have had as pioneers — to round out in happy fulfillment a story which they now dare believe will have a long and noble sequel. Those who are just coming forward to enter into the settlement's future may well rejoice to enter into the momentum of its adventurous out-reach of fellowship for the spread and dominance of the good and beautiful life.

John Graham Brooks, in an address to students, told of a conversation heard by him in which three art teachers discussed the different culminating manifestations of the art impulse at different stages of history — sculpture in the age of Phidias; painting exemplified by Raphael, Da Vinci, and Michael Angelo; music the reigning art of the past century. They raised the question as to what would be the future art that should find similar consummate expression, and one of them suggested the theater. Mr. Brooks laid before the students the answer that he would make to such an inquiry:

> Art is knowledge in its application; and to apply our experience and knowledge to the shaping of a higher social justice is also an art. . . . Here is a sphere for art as much nobler than that of sculptor or painter as the destinies of human life and society are higher than those of any inanimate object, even though carved by Phidias or painted by Raphael. It is, above all, an art that should touch by its inspiration the gallantry of the whole student class.[1]

[1] *The Conflict between Private Monopoly and Good Citizenship*, p. 39 *et seq.* Houghton Mifflin Company. 1909.

Our settlement houses have more or less consciously held some such conception before them; each of them, at its best, has sought to make its local scene in some sense a classic land. We have faith to believe that in our settlement neighborhoods there is beginning to appear some suggestion of the hardly yet recognized basis in mind and heart of the nobler society. Here even more than ever, do we find the groundwork of our Utopia, to be built up with the "passion of patience."

The settlement has always had its peculiar appeal to the distinctively constructive moral imagination. Fresh meaning is given to this appeal to-day by the many new manifestations of the not less purposeful if more chastened search for a better order of society. There is much that is at once primordial and ultimate in seeking to fill out the simple but endless potencies of an increasing circle of neighborhoods. Here, at the source of all public life, the settlement has proved that fresh hope of progress may find a perennial spring. In a period of disintegration, which our neighborhoods are sharing in common with the world, it is all the more possible for the settlement to touch the underlying universal forces that can bring the moral unity of mankind. It is, perhaps, above all a settlement privilege that in it the social worker may nourish "the firm conviction that beneath all the forms of economic and social change he is striving to bring about, there is proceeding a great spiritual movement towards the millennium of the City of God."

THE END

APPENDIX

QUESTIONNAIRE ON NEIGHBORHOOD REMINISCENCE

1. In how many neighborhoods have you lived? Describe and characterize each briefly, and indicate the length of time you resided in it. Answer the following questions as far as they apply, for each neighborhood.
2. How successfully were you integrated into the local life? Did you feel yourself definitely a member of the neighborhood — accepted and with an assured place? If not, was the cause within yourself, or in others?
3. What institutions, associations, and activities stand out in your mind as distinctive of the neighborhood? Characterize each, and pass a judgment on its worth.
4. How large a number of people (adults and children) did you know? How many of them were of your own age; younger, older? How large a proportion of your entire acquaintance did the neighborhood furnish?
5. In how far did the family group center its life in the neighborhood? What part did parents, brothers, and sisters take in the local life? In how far did you have neighbor friends in common?
6. To what extent were the influential and effective friends (in their power over you, and in their influence on your life) also neighbors?
7. Describe as fully as you can the significance of the local stores, schools, and churches in the unfolding and development of your life. What peculiar value did they have in virtue of the local quality?
8. In how far did recreation center in (*a*) the family, (*b*) the small spontaneously organized group, (*c*) large-scale recreation organized by individuals or organizations? What part did groups, sets, clubs, gangs, associations, etc., play in your life? Were amusements largely active or passive?
9. Do you feel that the neighborhood afforded a certain amount of moral guardianship? Do you know of any contagion of evil influence which was discovered and stamped out by the neighbors?
10. What was the subject-matter of the neighborhood gossip? In

how far do you think it was injurious? In how far did it set and enforce standards?

11. Was the neighborhood in childhood in your view homogeneous as to nationality, economic status, and educational opportunity? At what age did your contemporaries begin to note social and class distinctions? What, in your mind, determined the social standing of your neighbors?
12. What forms of neighborly mutual help stand out in your mind?
13. How large (area, people) was the effective neighborhood of your childhood? Can you remember the stages by which it was enlarged?
14. To what extent do you find yourself judging situations and people in terms of the types and standards of your neighborhood experience? How real a part of your mental furniture are the neighborhood pictures in your mind, and in how far do these stand as your symbols for the great concepts of human life and living?
15. As you look back over your life, what part does the neighborhood take in the perspective?
16. Define a neighborhood in terms of area, people, institutions, etc.

THE AUTHOR'S CHRONOLOGY: ACTIVITIES, PUBLICATIONS

1890.	In Residence, Toynbee Hall, London.
1891–95.	Lecturer, Andover Theological Seminary. Also 1913 and 1920.
1891–	Head of the Andover, after 1895 South End, House.
1895–97.	Member of the Relief Committee, Central Labor Union.
1896–1914.	Lecturer, Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge.
1896–1906.	Member of the Commission on Municipal Baths and Gymnasiums.
1898–	Member of the Board, Massachusetts Civic League.
1899–1908.	President of the South End Social Union, a Federation of Ten Settlement Houses.
1899–1908.	Member of the Board, Public Franchise League.
1903–04.	Preliminary Investigator for Wentworth Institute, before its Establishment as a Secondary Technical School.
1903–04.	Chairman of the Citizens' Committee to Promote a State System of Industrial Education.
1906–07.	Temporary Secretary of the State Commission to Establish Industrial Schools.
1907–14.	Chairman of the Board, State Hospital for Inebriates.
1908.	Member of the Staff of the Pittsburgh Survey. Hon. M.A. Amherst College.
1908–	President of the Boston Social Union, A Federation of Twenty-six Settlement Houses. *Except 1914 and 1920.*
1910.	Hon. M.A. Harvard University.
1910–20.	Trustee of Amherst College.
1911–	Secretary of the National Federation of Settlements.
1914–15.	Member of the Relief Committee, Central Labor Union.
1914–16.	Member of the Licensing Board for the City of Boston.
1917–19	Chairman of the Boston War Camp Community Service.
1918.	President of the National Conference of Social Work. Chairman of the State Committee to Secure Ratification of National Prohibition.
1918–19.	Member of the Governing Board, Chamber of Commerce.
1919–20.	Lectured in Japan, China, India, and the Near East.
1922–	President of Wells Memorial Institute for Working Men and Women. Member Mayor's Advisory Committee on Zoning.

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1898. *The City Wilderness: A Study of the South End.* (Editor.) Houghton Mifflin Company.
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THE VARIOUS CENTERS OF THE SOUTH END HOUSE

IN THE SOUTH END

Headquarters, Men's Residence, and Apartments, 20–22 Union Park.
Women's Residence, 40 West Newton Street.
Head of the House, 16 Bond Street.
Registry House, 171 West Brookline Street.
South Bay Union, 636–40 Harrison Avenue.
Wells Memorial Institute, 985–89 Washington Street.

OUT OF TOWN

Winning Farm, Lexington, Mass.
Wayside House, West Falmouth, Mass.
Caddy Camp, Bretton Woods, N.H.
Caddy Camp, Poland Springs, Maine.

THE SOUTH END ALMANAC

THE South End Almanac for 1923, its first issue, was prepared under the auspices of the South End Improvement Society by Albert J. Kennedy and Harry S. Upham. Its forty-two pages included: a history of the district, with an account of local industry and trade; detailed information and suggestion about politics and general public administration, post-office, police, fire department, militia, churches, education, clubs and recreation, lodgings, medical care, sanitation, assistance in trouble, general community betterment, — all set forth so as to make the most direct appeal to the average inhabitant. It was an essential phase of the undertaking that the largest possible number of people must be brought within the circle of its influence. For this reason no charge was made for the almanac, the cost of printing being covered by means of advertisements of local business houses and social agencies. An edition of thirty thousand was issued and carefully distributed so that the almanac found its way into a very large proportion of the tenement homes and individual lodging-house rooms of the entire district. Its reception seems to prove this to be an unusually practicable and promising form of publicity for local community organization and progress, — reaching the people with a degree of universality, actually finding its way into their hands, from its nature and from their nature likely to remain at hand for a considerable period, thoroughly disseminating much useful, desired, and conversationally negotiable information, bringing newcomers quickly on a basis of intercommunication with the established, increasing the range and penetration of all local services and serving to develop for them an appreciative and cooperative local public sentiment, setting forth a powerful friendly conspiracy of influences for good as against evils enough that are reenforced by people's prevalent suspicion and detraction of one another, opening the way to some really broad advance of local common understanding and local pride. It is expected that the almanac will be issued regularly in the future.

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